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**A Case Study of Distance Education and
Development in Jamaica: A Study of Three
Distance Education Organisations and their Contribution to
Development.**

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A Case Study of Distance Education and Development in Jamaica: A Study of Three Distance Education Organisations and their Contribution to Development.

Abstract

This study examines three distance education organisations in Jamaica in order to understand their role as contributors to Jamaica's development. The three distance education organisations are:

1. The Ministry of Education Teacher Education Programme.
2. The University of the West Indies Distance Teaching Experiment.
(UWIDITE)
3. The Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy. (JAMAL)

Jamaica's most recent Development Plan is also examined for an understanding of how distance education is linked into that plan.

The study is concerned with the contribution that distance education can make towards Jamaica's development, the problems that inhibit development and the conditions that assist development. It is therefore concerned with the political and economic structures in Jamaica and how these affect the function of distance education in development strategies.

A qualitative approach, using the case study method is adopted, for this study, which enables the work of the institutions to be analysed in conjunction with attitudes of individuals who are involved in distance education in various capacities, for example as teachers, administrators, politicians, aid negotiators, volunteers and close observers. A qualitative analysis also helped in the understanding of the structure and functions of the organisations studied.

Because benefits can accrue to a society in terms of growth in its Gross National Product, without such benefits reaching the whole population, the political nature of Jamaica was examined particularly in terms of the ideology of the main political parties in order to determine the difference, if any, between them. How the ideology was acquired or developed is also important.

Abstract

The study also examined the cultural and economic context in which attempts are being made to develop the society. This includes the internal relationships within the country and its external relationships with countries that give bilateral aid and organisations that 'assist' with multilateral aid.

The study concludes that Jamaica is at a serious disadvantage in its attempt to implement 'development' policies because it is not properly in charge of its own destiny. The country's currency is subject to sudden devaluations which can increase the cost of development without the possibility of being able to plan for the increases in costs. Ways of overcoming these difficulties may be found in less political opportunism, improved inter-departmental co-operation in determining development priorities and a unified political approach to multi-lateral and bi-lateral aid agencies by the main political parties. There may be implications for other developing countries whose currencies continue to decline in relation to Western currencies.

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List of Abbreviations

CARICOM	Caribbean Economic Community
CARIMAC	Caribbean Institute for Mass Communication
EBS	Education Broadcasting Service
CBA	Certificate of Business Administration
CCDC	Caribbean Child Development Centre
CPA	Certificate of Public Administration
CPTC	Creative Production and Training Centre
CXC	Caribbean Examination Certificate
HEART	Human Employment and Resources Training
ILO	International Labour Organisation
ISTET	In-service Teacher Education Trust
JAMAL	Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy
JFYPD	Jamaica Five Year Development Plan
JIS	Jamaica Information Service
JLP	Jamaica Labour Party
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PDU	Professional Development Unit
PNP	Peoples National Party
REU	Radio Education Unit
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UWI	University of the West Indies
UWIDITE	University of the West Indies Distance Teaching Experiment
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WDR	World Development Report

Chapter 1- Introduction and Background to the Study

Introduction

This thesis came out of a situation where distance education had begun to expand in Jamaica in the 1970's without a great deal of educational rationale. Distance education has been used for different purposes including teaching children, upgrading of public servants' skills and training agricultural workers (Young 1980). It has also been used for teacher education. In spite of the growing trend in the use distance teaching methods there has not been a corresponding explanation of the distance education systems themselves and how they work. Jenkins (1980) suggests that the existing rationale is circumstantial and anecdotal and expressed mainly in terms of problems attributed to the high level of illiteracy within the society, inadequately trained teachers and the need for trained manpower. Distance education programmes are also described in terms of economic cost of training, (Kinyanjui 1974 and Kaunda 1973).

The adoption of distance teaching methods in many developing countries, for teacher education, has been mainly because teacher training institutions have been unable to keep pace with the demands of their rapidly expanding education systems. In Jamaica there was not only a shortage of qualified teachers in the schools but an increasing number of those already qualified needed upgrading and distance education was seen as a convenient way of tackling this need.

In order to reduce illiteracy, and the problems associated with it, a decision was taken by the government of Jamaica in 1972 to invest large sums of money in a literacy campaign which would include the use of distance education strategies. The investment took two forms. 1. Investment in teacher education through the development by the Ministry of Education of the Teacher Upgrading Programme. 2. Investment in adult literacy by the establishment and development of the Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy (JAMAL) and a decade later the establishment of the University of the West Indies, Distance Teaching Experiment (UWIDITE) financed by United States Agency for International Development, (USAID).

These developments have not been studied in any detail. What exists up to the present time are inadequate descriptions of their development and

contribution to Jamaican society. There has not been any study or analysis although the stated purpose of their establishment is for development needs. There are also stated beliefs that distance education can play a part in development, in terms of helping to produce the skills that Jamaica needs and in providing an educational background that will enable people to become trainable (JFYDP, 1990, UWIDITE Report, 1986; Lamplight, Vol. 2 Nos. 2/3, 1984).

There is therefore a gap in the information and knowledge available about distance education in Jamaica, its practices and its contributions, which this study seeks to fill. In filling this gap an attempt is made to build a picture of distance education in Jamaica and avoid forced generalisations. In this way a more concrete and comprehensive picture can be provided.

This approach, derived from the empirical evidence collected through interviews, should be useful to anyone with an interest in distance education in the developing countries and the Caribbean region, and in understanding the future prospects for distance education. It should also be of assistance in the development of educational policy when that policy includes the use of distance teaching strategies.

In filling this gap the view is taken that adult education and adult education theories are relevant to an understanding of distance education development in Jamaica because the education offered through distance teaching methods, in the main, is directed at adults. In examining the contributions of distance education the study takes into consideration a background of continuous shortage of resources, recurrent political problems and problems associated with the concept of development.

This chapter starts with a brief review of some of the social and political questions surrounding the use of distance education methods as a way of increasing and improving the quality of human resources in developing countries. It looks for relevant use of distance education from the industrialised countries, from other developing countries and from Jamaica. The political and social background, the nature and process of change and institutional creation are also considered in relation to the development of distance education. The nature of Jamaican society, its political complexity and relationship to other Caribbean countries are also described. The research questions are later put together and elaborated with links to the chapters in the thesis.

Social and Political Background

Education has been viewed as an instrument of social policy by governments and societies regardless of their ideologies. Education policies have also been directed at schooling and the curriculum which have attracted most of the educational funding. In developing countries adult education, which includes distance education, often features as part of national development policies (Fordham, 1979:209), and is viewed as an instrument of social policy. Jamaica sees both adult and distance education as instruments of social policy.

A few preliminary remarks are necessary to set the context of the social and political environment in which distance education is being developed in Jamaica. This is important because Jamaica, although a small country in the Caribbean region with about two and a half million people, has the largest English speaking population in the region and is important and influential in determining educational co-operation and standards in the region.

Distance Education and Social Policy

In the English speaking Caribbean there has always been, historically, a degree of co-operation on educational policy matters and that co-operation exists to the present time. This co-operation is a feature of the way the countries in the region were administered, by the colonial authorities, and is also an historical inheritance. What they do in education and in other areas of human activity affect one another and necessitate considerable inter-relationship even if they disagree on what needs to be done.

This historical co-operation when applied to the situation of independent sovereign states has exposed tensions which were not apparent during the period of colonial rule. The tensions that are exposed are predicated on the different policies that have been adopted by the newly independent states, as opposed to those enforced during colonial rule. Tensions also arise because of gaps between egalitarian ideology and the conditions in which most states find themselves at independence. According to Foster this,

makes the task of modernising elites, in contemporary developing areas, a formidable one. For not only are they obliged to press for economic growth, but they must do so within constraints imposed by notions of mass welfare and social equality. In the short run development strategies may well clash with notions of social equality,

with those designed to achieve maximal economic growth and the most efficient allocation of limited resources. (Foster, 1980: 13)

In a region where small independent states need to co-operate on matters of educational policy, but where they may have different constraints, the tension may not only be between states but within states, where different notions of 'social equality' increase the possibility of considerable differences about what constitute priorities and how priorities are to be selected and resourced. In Jamaica distance education has had an uneven development and it is therefore appropriate to ask questions about these priorities and the possibilities they offer. These considerations are raised later in this chapter in connection with the research questions which the thesis seeks to answer.

Resourcing Distance Education

In Jamaica the development in distance education was partly financed by the government, but there is always the expressed need for external assistance. The external assistance to the University of the West Indies, discussed in Chapter Five has ended. The University now relies, almost exclusively, on government funding for its distance education programme which is provided through financing of the University budgets. The use therefore to which distance education is directed may be strongly influenced by the Government, and adult and distance education workers are conscious of this situation. The term 'political will' has won a position of prominence in developing countries because of the importance of government to the success or failure of distance education projects. (Duke, 1985: 4).

The commitment to distance education became a reality in Jamaica a decade after its independence in 1962 along with Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados. For the region the 1960's was the decade of independence. As newly independent countries, one of their main pre-occupations was to develop the region and education became the main focus of attention from which development would take place. Over the past thirty years that focus has continued, not only for countries in the Caribbean but throughout the developing world, with up-turns in educational investment depending on the state of the country's resources and on who has political power. This understanding is important for the study because, although distance education existed in pre-independence Jamaica, it was in the form of correspondence courses which were privately administered, from overseas, and which some individuals undertook in order to make themselves better qualified for employment as opportunities occurred. The main aim of those who succeeded was to join the elite section of the labour force, the effect of

which was a large number of highly qualified lawyers and a shortage of everything else including scientists and technologists. (Blaug 1970, Curle 1973 and Zubrin 1980).

The Jamaica Labour Party (JLP), a party not known for any radical stance on education, led Jamaica into independence and was responsible for adding fifty secondary schools to those which already existed between 1967 and 1972 during its term of office. For ten years, after independence, the Jamaica Labour Party was the party of government. The need for education was therefore recognised by the JLP but investment in adult or distance education was restricted.

When distance education developed, for the purpose of reducing the large percentage of illiterate adults in the Jamaican population, it was the People's National Party that brought it about. It had a radical position on education and a strong belief that literacy would lead to development and that was behind the strategy to mobilise support for action and the provision of resources.

At that time, development for the People's National Party under Michael Manley's leadership meant self-reliance, and this was seen as implying a radicalised programme involving structural transformation of the economic system and social relations within the country. Self-reliance also meant increasing autonomy with implications for Jamaica's relationship with the United States of America. Jamaica's economic development and foreign policy commitments became more independent of the United States of America and placed it in the Third World. Under Manley's leadership, Cuba was supported and regarded as a friend and ally of Jamaica. It was a major departure for Jamaica and Jamaican politics, from previous policies, when the Puerto Rican model of development was in operation (Hettne, 1990). This model involved development through an export oriented economy with the encouragement of foreign investment. Internal and external hostility led to economic difficulties with the People's National Party losing power in 1980. The People's National Party policy was revised before the party regained power towards the end of the 1980's.

It is traditional in Jamaica for political parties to last for two terms in government and so it was with the JLP. They were voted out of office in 1972 and the People's National Party was voted into power with a radical

programme that was to give rise to a multiplicity of organisations through which radical reform and development were to be achieved.

One of the organisations created by the new People's National Party after it was elected to power in 1972 was the Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy (JAMAL). This organisation was regarded as necessary for the elimination of illiteracy, thought to be at a level of about forty per cent of the adult population in 1972. (Lamplight, Vol. 2 No. 2, 1986; Statistical Yearbook of Jamaica, 1993). This was the first involvement by any government in Jamaica in distance education. The Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy is discussed in Chapter Six.

As with the period of development of JAMAL, the Teacher Up-grading Programme developed in a period when the political rhetoric was different from the practice and one in which the single view of development was practised. The decade of the 1970's was one of intense political activity and teacher shortage in Jamaica, (Murray, 1979) and in this atmosphere the development of education was effected.

Teacher shortage and overcrowded schools with inadequate facilities were the norm and children were leaving schools without a solid grounding in literacy from which further educational development or training could take place. The role of the Teacher Upgrading Programme was also to provide better qualified teachers in the hope that the schools and students would benefit. Chapter Four discusses the establishment of the Teacher Upgrading Programme and the political and educational context in which teacher education was being developed. The contraction of teacher education is also discussed in Chapters Four and Six.

Ideological Background

An ideological background is important because it shows that the development of distance education in developing countries has connections with that in the developed countries. Ideologies of development, of education and of adult education that are currently holding sway in developing countries are not always indigenous to the developing countries themselves. Some important ideological themes and positions were developed not in the developing countries but by sympathizers in the White North (Bhola, 1988: 30). The themes and ideas that found resonance with the education practitioners in developing countries were then

incorporated into their thoughts and actions. Although the rationale for distance education in developing countries is not embedded in the ideology of radical educators in industrialised countries it is none the less inspired by its development and use in developed countries where the situation is different.

The radical political movements that led to independence for some colonial countries in the 1960's was influenced by socialist ideology and consequently their educational interests were reminiscent of the ideological interests of socialist countries. The 1960's produced the political radicalism of the new left with some contemporary educational radicals becoming politically mature at that time who have since been active both in Britain and in international organisations such as the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO). (Evans, 1987)

If mature radicals did develop out of the 1960's, this radicalism was not formulated into the Governments' policy in the Caribbean, and did not enter the educational system in terms of changes. There were additions and these were in the form of distance education rather than structural changes. There were however features that the Caribbean countries had in common. They spoke English, are small, were administered as colonies and occupied the same geographical area. Today these countries get together to plan and discuss educational strategies and development to meet their needs in education, whilst still jealously guarding their independence as sovereign nations. It is a situation that is fraught with conflicts due mainly to size and resources, and sometimes ideological differences, but also, the meetings provide the opportunity to discover and act upon their common heritage for the benefit of the whole region. Chapter Five, which examines the development of the University of the West Indies Distance Teaching Experiment, also discusses the way in which regional educational co-operation has been maintained in higher education and provides an example for regional co-operation on political issues.

As the 'big democratic island' in the region it was, and to some extent remains, the self imposed prerogative of Jamaica to be an important pace setter in achievements with respect to development through education. A political party, the People's National Party, lists the following educational achievements in one of its election manifestos under the caption of Social Justice:

Social Justice

- Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy
- Free tuition from primary school to university
- More school places
- Improvement to primary health care (included because healthy children are regarded as having a greater learning potential).
- Schools Councils

(1980 Election Manifesto of the P. N. P, reproduced in Jones, 1992 :110-111)

The list of achievements as part of its social justice package suggests that the government was convinced that there was whole hearted support for education and participation of the type mentioned and that it was in a hurry to move social policy and economic development forward with a model that contained a mixture of policies from capitalist and socialist ideologies labelled 'Democratic Socialism'. In the process it lacked the ability to establish an understandable relationship between the various newly formed organisations and the older well established organisations. Education was to be one of the major policy instruments in moving social policies forward. That may have been achieved if the education programme, especially JAMAL's, where adults were involved as students in receipt of literacy training, was part of a coherent educational strategy. As Jones puts it:

a major lesson for development administratorsis that they need to aggregate centres of competence.They need to realise that successful transaction will require internal domestic consensus on the development programme in order for them to work. The consensus must be built via organisation, mobilisation and dialogue. (Jones, 1992: 109)

What was evident from the long list of major policies implemented was that the government would need support nationally and internationally and that to get this support it needed to explain how various policy areas and development packages were interrelated. It therefore should have taken any opportunity to explain what it was trying to achieve and to win support for its policies, but it was short on dialogue.

Development and Change

In any development and change process, uncertainties are created and questions are asked, sometimes because of a lack of understanding and sometimes because vested interests may consider that there are possible dangers to their interests. Criticisms and opposition did develop but the

government did not react positively to expressions of alarm and criticisms which were derived from these uncertainties. Instead it reacted negatively by refusing to explain its policies. As Jones pointed out:

the PNP regime's strong association with Cuba and a growing radical anti-capitalist rhetoric by its representatives led to mistrust, withdrawal of support and threats by the private sector. Many threatened to withhold tax payments and the government's orientation to the private sector became ambivalent, vacillating and contradictory. The party made patriotic appeals to the private sector to co-operate in expanding production while mounting personal attacks against prominent business people (Jones, 1992 : 83).

This way of proceeding with development issues led to political opposition. The opposition according to Jones gained in coherence and the oppositional forces ranged against the government grew and included:

the Gleaner Company, the Private Sector Organisation, and of course, the opposition Jamaica Labour Party. Because the state was weak and the government party appeared ideologically fragmented, and because a large number of projects and programmes simultaneously engaged official attention, the impression of incapacity was easily conveyed (Jones, 1992 :106).

For the government large numbers of projects were necessary if they were to achieve development in Jamaica, which meant development as conceived in the twentieth century, developed world. Buchanan explained that there is a mistaken assumption sometimes held about the developing world and development issues:

It is often tacitly assumed that in educational as in economic matters Third World countries have to somehow rush through the evolutionary stages the White North has passed through in the last couple of centuries. This is quite misleading. The Third World's development involves a breakthrough from backwardness not to the nineteenth century but to the twenty first century. Nowhere is this truer than in education. Viewed simply in terms of its contribution to economic development, education in the Third World today involves the confrontation of problems quite different to those faced by the White North when it began its educational breakthrough. (Buchanan, 1975: 20)

For the developing countries this means that education must acquire twentieth century methods of delivery of distance education which means getting and using the most advanced and efficient forms of communication and social infrastructure. Acquiring these, however, leads to a greater reliance on developed countries, since the technology for doing so cannot be

developed overnight in the developing countries. The start of building a new economy in Western Europe began in the eighteenth century and the extension of education began in the nineteenth century after considerable advance in economic development had taken place. Therefore the available technology for the extension of educational opportunities came later.

It was a situation in which education and the reduction of illiteracy were used to meet the demands of growing industrial development. Today things are different because scientific knowledge and its application is important in economic and industrial life and consequently literacy is of major importance. In recognition of the present situation developing countries have to make gigantic leaps if they are to modernise and bring their countries near to the standard of the developed world using their own labour force.

It means that a large number of development projects on the scale launched by the government of Jamaica between 1972 and 1980 have to be co-ordinated and, although operating independently, have to be supportive of each other and understand their roles in relation to the whole development strategy. It should be remembered that the literacy programme that was put into operation in 1972 was intended to be an adult literacy programme and in that sense was regarded as part of the adult education that would play a major role in the development plans of Jamaica.

As a part of a national development plan discussed in Chapter Seven, adult education has not historically played an important role in developed societies but developing countries have embraced it as such (Fordham 1979: 209). Adult education projects have been a part of the strategy adopted to combat illiteracy, improve health and hygiene and to promote economic development. (UNESCO, 1976; Fordham 1980; Duke 1985). Whatever the goal or strategy for development, education was seen as a major instrument in the process.

Education was seen as having almost 'magical powers' (Curle 1973, Porter 1969) and as being a 'panacea' for all the problems of development (Tett 1974). When development was seen in terms of economic growth, the main role of education was to provide the trained labour power. The question then is no longer whether such policies are making a contribution to development, but under what circumstances are they likely to be effective. (Duke 1985: 213).

In education, an obvious area for co-operation, with 'free' education from primary school to University and JAMAL, implemented under the 1972 - 1980 government as significant educational development, there was no co-operation. Each educational organisation pursued its own goals and in some cases a degree of hostility may have been present between these organisations.

Some evidence for this still remains in the belief expressed by some important educators that JAMAL has not carried out its function because if it had it would have self-destructed long ago, or that the money spent on literacy campaigns would have been better used on basic education. Similarly within JAMAL there is the feeling that any attempt by academics to Jamaicanise the written language in order that literacy can be linked to Jamaican speech (*known as Patois*) would be a retrograde step and must be resisted at all costs. It is also argued within the JAMAL organisation that because academics do not live in the 'real world' they have a tendency to generate unfortunate debates about wanting to 'change the language'.

With problems of non-cooperation between the various bodies that were managing development, there were other concerns. The government did not envisage any objections to its development programmes and was expecting support internally from the private sector and from international funding agencies but the resistance to change from within was sufficient to discourage international funding agencies from assisting without requiring severe adjustments to the programmes.

Jones writing on external reaction to the PNP administration comments:

the political vernacular of the Jamaican left and its growing role in policy matters, signalled to Washington a new wave of radicalism, which was in reality plastic. Further certain social policies which were reformist and constitutionalist, were seen as radical adaptations of classical, more moderate development administration models. These new perceptions and assumptions implied threats to US security and economic interests and, predictably, invited opposition from the international network. (Jones 1992: 56)

The opposition led to the presentation of agendas based on market forces as the administrative instrument for development purposes. Private schools cater for a part of the education market in Jamaica, and are entrenched in the social fabric of education. Any attempt, therefore, at developing an egalitarian education system offering high quality education to an even

larger section of the population is likely to meet with resistance if it erodes any privileged position that the private sector already occupies. If the aim of the education policies of the government was to equalise opportunities within Jamaica it had not managed to persuade the more privileged and articulate to invest in the state sector by supporting and participating in it. Those people who could afford to and supported private education continued to do so to the extent that they were willing to have their children educated overseas in order to give them a leading edge in the economic stakes of Jamaica. As such the articulate and influential section of Jamaican society had little or no interest in educational reform.

Education Reform

Preparing the ground for education reform is a difficult and lengthy process if part of the preparation is the necessity to convince the users of the system that they are likely to benefit under a more egalitarian and democratic system which Dewey, (1966) argued, should promote the 'social continuity of life'. That is, education should promote the smooth integration of individuals as fully functioning members of society. Before this can be done it is necessary to convince a majority of participants in the education process that the exercise is worthwhile and beneficial dividends are likely.

The question then for Jamaican society is whether, as a country, it will be ready to provide education on the basis that it can assist the integration of its members as fully functioning members, which means active participants, when the market is not yet ready to accommodate them. Democratising the market may be one answer but the question is theoretical since we would be discussing a situation of the democratic society versus the democratic market and the extent to which one can function without the other. Thus according to Gintis:

The critical problem in the articulation of schooling within...capitalism, lies in its undemocratic structure of control over the process of production. The capitalist enterprise is not characterized by civil liberties, due process, democratic participation, or guaranteed rights. Rather it is characterized by rights vested in property rather than persons and the control of the production process by capitalists and managerial personnel, giving rise to a class structure quite inimical to democratic principles. (Gintis and Bowles, 1981 : 46)

Jamaica is not an advanced capitalist society in terms of its physical infrastructure such as roads and water supply, or in terms of its industrial base: the economy is dependent on agriculture, raw materials production

and tourism, with inadequate social provision in health, education and housing. Some of the 'laws' that govern its social relations are however identical to those of some advanced capitalist countries and some are more severe, for example in the areas of ownership and protection of property, the defence of property can be carried out much more vigorously than the defence of life. Consequently its relations to the process of production and ownership is similar to or more intense than those of the advanced capitalist countries.

The reasons for this are that there are fewer resources to be shared out and that new initiatives are likely to meet with resistance if they mean a re-arrangement of the resources to allow policy initiatives, favouring the less privileged, to take root. What is obvious, maybe with the benefit of hindsight, is that the government of Jamaica for the period 1972 to 1980 was attempting to introduce development policies and educational reforms in conditions where there was no previous experience and for which there was insufficient preparation. It is an area in which there are difficulties. Adams points out:

our inability to analyse the process of development in any refined way and our practice of treating only external manifestations have given rise to unfortunate characteristics in much of the literature on education and development[...]which are largely impressionistic and describe education and development in highly aggregated or abstract terms. (Adams, 1971: 4)

The Teacher Upgrading Programme was one such area and the People's National Party did not mention the policies relating to that programme in its 1980 Election Manifesto specifically, but it was included in its general policies on improving education. If the best quality education was to be achieved with a high level of accessibility then the quality and qualifications of the teachers in the state sector would need to be very high to meet the demand for higher standards and to enable students to compete effectively for places in higher education with those from the private sector.

Ideological Similarity and Confusion

Given the nature of political involvement, where the politician in this particular context is a member of the ruling political formation and is more than likely to have to respond quickly to the demands made on him or her in terms of what is to be delivered as service, s/he is likely to demand quick action to satisfy the demands for better services by political pressure groups wanting improved access to the social services. The administrative civil

servant is more likely to take time ensuring that all the rules are followed and all the documentation and authorisation are in place before proceeding. These are conditions with tensions and conflicts which demand joint training, not necessarily to remove the possibility of conflict, but to understand and minimize its negative effects when it occurs.

As the opposition gained in coherence, based on its ideology that the individual is the key agent of development, that collective and co-operative actions were the beginnings of communism that stifles private enterprise and individual initiative and freedoms, it gained in popularity. These are utterances based on the ideological positions in which the Jamaican people have been well 'educated' and with which the People's National Party pre-1972 policies had considerable if not total accommodation.

In response to growing unpopularity, the Ministry of National Mobilisation reacted to protect its interests against criticisms of its role as another government department with responsibility for implementing aspects of public policy. In its determination to protect its 'interests' and defend itself, internal conflicts and tensions arose within the Ministry. These tensions arose because of the political composition of the People's National Party that developed originally as a 'broad church' involving many shades of beliefs from free market to public ownership.

It is not unusual for conflicts to occur within state apparatus, both vertically between different levels and functions within a branch of government, and horizontally between different branches, (Saunders, 1984: 23) when under pressure of change and representing different interests. Saunders used this argument in support of a dual state thesis which suggests that different authorities perform different functions and require different analyses, rejecting completely any relationship between the state and local authority as qualifying for analysis on the basis of class categories. The question of vertical and horizontal conflicts and tensions however remains and this was particularly evident within the new established 'order' in Jamaica after 1972.

The politics of social democracy, in the Jamaican context, argued for and created institutions which were to be based on co-operation, without creating the organisational and operational basis for such co-operation. The immediate post-colonial administration had no experience of such co-operation. The education service is the responsibility of the Ministry of

Education, teachers and education officials are civil servants and there is no devolution of powers to local bodies, such as local councils, to deal with such 'important' matters. The attempts at devolution of a limited range of powers to local and community organisations such as governing bodies for schools and other educational establishments, with the responsibility to engage staff and see to the general effectiveness of the establishments, came after 1972 and constituted an attempt at democratising the education system as part of a comprehensive range of policy decisions promoting democracy.

The JAMAL organisation, specifically mentioned in the PNP's Manifesto, had its own 'democratic' structure with the establishment of local management committees drawn from individuals within the locality of operation. These management committees were responsible to the national management committee. The national body did not necessarily reflect the membership of the local management bodies, but was nevertheless the way of putting in place a 'democratic' JAMAL structure that functioned up to 1980.

In 1980 it probably was a return to the drawing board for the People's National Party when it lost the election. It has since emerged with a political philosophy of 'free market forces', 'individual enterprise', divestment of government property, drastic reduction in government expenditure, fees for school students, free movement of currencies between themselves and the international currency markets and the introduction of a whole series of initiatives which makes it indistinguishable from the Jamaica Labour Party.

In the thesis it is pointed out that some of the organisations created during the 1972-80 period remain, although in a deformed way, because they had offered a service for which there is still a demand and for which alternatives have not been found. In some cases the reduction in the services offered by the organisations established after 1972 led to the creation of parallel forms of organisations because they had gained in influence and because credit for their usefulness had to be directed to the new government. One such creation was the Human Employment and Resources Training Establishment. (HEART).

There were however some policy reversals, which include the removal of free education at the tertiary level, the continued reduction of JAMAL's operation, and the return to development strategies based on the Puerto Rican model with a supporting foreign policy. Back then to the reliance on

traditional structures and an individual pathology view of development and change which was just beginning to be challenged in Jamaica.

The Development Processes

Development occurs in many ways. It occurs in terms of changes that are necessary in the fulfilment of collective and individual needs within a society. Development also occurs in different forms and can go through a variety of stages. It may be visualised as an improvement in the standard of living of the people in a country, that is the acquisition of things mainly material, or the improvement of social provision which includes better housing, improved access to education, medical facilities and care, improved environmental conditions etc. or a combination of all those things. What has emerged as an understandable phenomenon is that development as a concept needs to be applied to particular and identifiable issues otherwise it becomes a claim that all can make without the claim having any meaning to anyone or even being acted on.

Development can take place in one area of a society, for example in health and health practices, while the acquisition of material goods declines. Development can also take place in education, in the sense that many more people are educated without an increase in job opportunities, which complicates the issues one is trying to address. It also raises again the problem of the relationship between education and development of any kind.

Factors Affecting Development

There is a great deal of discussion about the way development takes place, about what it means, about where and how it occurs and about factors occurring which militate against it. Issues affecting development are the ideology of the particular governing political formation in any country, its external and internal relations, its natural resources and the ability to exploit those resources for the benefit of large numbers of people in a society.

For Jamaica an example of success in achieving literacy, already evident in the Caribbean with the success of the Cuban revolution in 1959, was one factor that needed attention. According to Meeks:

The accomplishments in the educational sphere [in Cuba] are excellent. Building on the basis of the path breaking literacy campaign

of the early years, the country, [Cuba] was able to make considerable progress towards giving the entire population at least a sixth grade education in 1974. In 1983 Cuba could boast that its population of teachers was eleven times greater than it had been in the 1950's, and in higher education, a student population fourteen times greater than before the revolution. (Meeks, B. 1993: 70)

These were examples of achievement by a neighbour that was under constant observation and admiration by influential elements within the People's National Party a decade after Jamaica's independence, who were at the same time committed to the achievements of these goals through legislation by a government elected to carry out these reforms and not through revolution as in the case of Cuba.

Educational Issues

Any analysis, description or understanding of a country's distance education system, whether that system was established to deal with illiteracy, provide higher education and training or a combination of both, must contain an element of understanding of that country's formal education system and the relationship between the formal and the informal. This is important and applies to Jamaica because some individuals are illiterate because they leave school without an adequate base upon which to build or maintain their educational standard. There are also the illiterates who emerge from formal education without the ability to communicate or be communicated with in writing.

According to Dawes secondary education is now undergoing reform funded by the World Bank, to:

improve access to education of all children up to the grade nine level and the quality of education offered locally. It is also intended to remove disparities in the education system which may deprive children of access to quality education. (Dawes, 1992: 12)

Improving access to quality education especially for children in rural Jamaica is important because the rural areas are often the main areas in which access is difficult due to the distances that have to be travelled daily for some children, and the level of poverty within some of these areas. Concern must also be focussed on the provision of better qualified teachers, discussed in Chapter Four, since one of the areas of concern is the 'unsatisfactory quality of education now existing in the secondary schools which manifests itself in poor exam results' (Dawes, 1992). Whether a student has access to a particular urban school or whether the education is

based in a rural area ultimately has a direct bearing on what that student is able to achieve.

Post Independence Developments.

The idea of vocational education and training gained credence in Jamaica after independence because of the need to respond rapidly to the skills requirement of a growing economy. It is an important consideration because it is often claimed that education is essential to development and examples are often cited to suggest that education may be the first requirement.

The point at issue here is not that literacy or education of the local people generated growth in national income, but that as national income grew the realisation came about that if more local people possessed the required education and skills, more of the wealth generated would be retained in Jamaica instead of being exported by the expatriate labour that was employed in the managerial and technical positions. Education tail-ended economic development and expansion.

Ideas about education and training in Jamaica were a response to the rapid development and economic expansion during the period 1950 to 1961 and, it could be argued, were necessary to bring about an increase in the number of Jamaicans benefiting from economic growth. As more Jamaicans were able to participate they replaced expatriate workers. It meant that more of the wealth from bauxite could be retained in the form of wages and salaries paid to local inhabitants, and spent in Jamaica. The replacement of some expatriate workers came after 1962 and could therefore be regarded as a post independence and political phenomenon. The situation that existed in the immediate pre and post independence periods suggests that benefits to the local population, from the mining industry, were mainly in the form of trickle down from the limited spending of expatriate employees.

Selection of the Organisations to be Researched

The three organisations selected for this research are the Ministry of Education Teacher Upgrading Programme, the University of the West Indies Distance Teaching Experiment(UWIDITE) and the Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy(JAMAL). All three organisations were selected because they are involved in distance education, which is seen as a way of expanding education opportunities, at economic

cost, to large numbers of people and as a way of assisting economic progress (Jamaica Five Year Development Plan, 1990).

Other distance education organisations exist: for example, the National Family Planning Board uses television and radio, in addition to print based material, for educating the Jamaican population on birth control methods. The education offered by the Family Planning Board is free and has been said to have some effect in reducing the birth rate. North American education institutions also market print based distance education courses up to and including higher degree courses.

Ministry of Education Teacher Upgrading Programme

The distance education work of the Ministry of Education, the controversy surrounding its establishment, demise and re-establishment of its Teacher Upgrading Programme is discussed in Chapter Four.

The Ministry's Teacher Upgrading Programme was the subject of political controversy and disagreement to the extent that it was wound up and its operation and personnel dispersed within the existing education network.

The gain in the political fortunes of the People's National Party has revived interest in the Teacher Upgrading Programme but on a much more conditional basis. The conditions surrounding its revival are also discussed in Chapter Four.

There is relative ease in developing countries in closing down branches of government Ministries and re-establishing them where there is a concentration of powers and authority at the centre, where the duties that are devolved are peripheral and where the population has not yet begun to show any significant understanding or appreciation of the value of special contributions of those organisational units on the periphery.

The establishment of organisations, no matter how peripheral, can therefore be easily seen as a danger to the central power where top civil servants, opposition parties and even governments have a vested interest in maintaining the status-quo, if the new creations or additions are likely to gain support from people whose aspirations are satisfied by their operations. Permanently established organisations of the type mentioned above that work efficiently and are supported and controlled locally would reduce the power and importance of central bureaucracies. Given that resisting the loss

of power is a function of bureaucracy, the survival of peripheral organisations will be in doubt.

The University of the West Indies Distance Teaching Experiment (UWIDITE)

The detailed work of UWIDITE is dealt with in Chapter Five. The political and funding context of its work is important in that the funds were available for the specific purpose of establishing a teleconference communication system for the purposes of distance education at as low cost as possible.

Before the UWIDITE teleconferencing system was established a feasibility study, named Caribbean Regional Communications Study (CARCOST) was done in 1978 (Lalor and Marett, 1986) to determine whether and how interactive distance teaching could contribute to education and public service in the Caribbean. The feasibility study was conducted between three sites; Mona in Jamaica which was the main site, Cave Hill, in Barbados and the Extra-Mural site in St. Lucia. That study was combined with the visit of a number of University staff to several distance teaching projects in various countries. A report then followed which was favourable to the application of distance teaching to the region's educational needs and difficulties.

The University of the West Indies Distance Teaching Experiment was the outcome and it began its education programme in 1983 with the availability of grants from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) as its main source of revenue. As an institution with a considerable amount of autonomy, the University was able to take the assistance and proceed with its own development of distance education without intervention from the state as to its administration and use although limited discussions seem to have taken place in the University after the acceptance of the grant. (Lalor, 1986)

At the outset the influences on UWIDITE as a distance teaching organisation were different to the influences on the other two distance teaching organisations, JAMAL and the Teacher Upgrading Programme, but the rationale appeared similar to that for those two institutions. Where JAMAL and the Teacher Upgrading Programme were to meet the developing and educational needs of Jamaica, UWIDITE was to meet the developing needs of the region. UWIDITE was never an autonomous

institution, but a part of the University of the West Indies, developed as a regional organisation.

In Jamaica at the time of UWIDITE's establishment there was a different political climate to that existing between 1972 and 1980. The Jamaica Labour Party was the party of government and the relationship between the University and the new government was being recast. The University was now to function in a situation where higher education was to be self financing and restricted to the privileged. University fees were about to be re-introduced and funds were not available for further development.

As an 'independent' institution UWIDITE was able to access and use funds for purposes other than those approved by government, although here one is not saying that the government registered any disagreement with the establishment of UWIDITE. Funds were being allocated for a specific purpose and the range of options open to the government was to accept or reject.

The Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy. (JAMAL)

The Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy, JAMAL was established in 1972 to take control of and reduce illiteracy in Jamaica. The detailed study is given in Chapter Six. Up to the point at which there was a change of government JAMAL used radio and television quite extensively to raise the level of literacy of the Jamaican people. It operated with a staff of 900 people and was seen as a powerful force extending literacy among the Jamaican population. That situation has now changed with a huge reduction in the JAMAL staff which now has 90 members. It no longer uses television or public radio broadcasts to any significant extent and as a result can hardly be now categorised as a distance teaching organisation. It however produces video material suitable for broadcast which is sometimes used at teaching centres.

What is not often alluded to is the fact that the establishment of a Commission, to study the extent of illiteracy in Jamaica and its impact on the development of the country, actually originated with the Jamaica Labour Party in government before it lost the election in 1972. The findings were accepted by the incoming government and acted upon with 'total' commitment and support. Ironically, the Jamaica Labour Party began the run-down of JAMAL when it regained power in 1980.

The acceptance of the findings could have been regarded as one of the first known examples of co-operation between the political parties. It is not an area of educational activity that was subject to much criticism. It had won support among the population generally as a worthwhile organisation but the problem existed in the fact that credit for its work was associated with one political party and to its first executive director. On the political level its popularity in the final analysis had two effects:

- 1). It secured the demise of JAMAL when changes occurred in the political administration of Jamaica.
- 2). Its total extinction during times of serious economic difficulties and political change was prevented.

The Main Issues

Distance education has been developing, with stops and starts in Jamaica, with projects faltering on the way and experiencing considerable set-backs due to inadequate resources and change in political fortunes.

The issue then concerns the relationship between distance education, forms of development identifiable in Jamaica and the degree of dependence on external sources for its realisation. If there was a relationship the study would inform our understanding of the contribution that distance education made to the developments, given the multiplicity of demands on limited budgets, inadequate number of trained personnel, a shortage of technical equipment and limited experience. What constitutes development, however, continues to pose problems for theorists. Hettne suggests that:

The lack of a theory of development was surely a great weakness in the dependency theory. So much stress was put on the external obstacles to development that the problem of how to initiate a development process, once these obstacles were removed, was neglected (Hettne, 1990: 97).

However, development has been subjected to wide and controversial interpretation. Because of the wide interpretation, the controversial nature of development and development issues and the number of areas of human activity that can be classified in this way, it was decided to concentrate on three distance education programmes that the government believes will contribute to Jamaica's development. The three programmes are, Teacher Upgrading Programme; the University of the West Indies

Distance Teaching Experiment and Literacy. These programmes would assist development through the reduction of poverty that an educated, literate and trainable workforce would make possible.

Teacher Education

The training of teachers cannot be done overnight and neither can the establishment of an effective distance teaching system. The movement of teachers cannot always be predicted and if past experiences of teachers leaving the profession or moving away from rural areas because of the inadequacy of the services available are part of the consideration, then this has to be taken into account when policies are being formulated for the implementation of effective education services for the society as a whole.

The shortage of skilled and professional workers within the economies of developing countries has also been a concern. The shortage was especially acute in the "miracle workers" in science and technology and distance education could be used to alleviate this shortage which according to Maybury:

would soon abolish the remaining vestiges of disease of hunger and poverty...(Maybury, 1975: 149).

In Jamaica the issue of competing political organisations is important for distance education and development because in the history of its post-independent existence a single political party has not been in government for more than two five year terms, competing mainly on the basis of implementing different projects when power changes hands, since on substantive issues of economic policies, differences could not be found or explained. (Stone 1974)

The Ministry of Education in developing a distance education strategy, for teachers, was influenced by the determination of young teachers to improve their qualifications as far back as 1959 when correspondence courses were used as a form of assistance to these teachers.

You need to remember that distance education as such is not new to Jamaica. Many teachers and office workers took correspondence courses because that was the only way they could get higher education and self advancement (Interviewee: 004).

Additionally distance education was used in schools where there were problems in getting qualified teachers, although this occurred much later than 1959.

JAMAL's activities were intended to enable individuals to use the skills of literacy to acquire useful information to help themselves develop and function effectively as autonomous individuals but when necessary to be able to function collectively. This is dealt with in Chapter Six and in the general conclusion. The impact on Jamaican society is assessed although there is also the issue of regression where people slip back into illiteracy mainly because their reading ability has not been related to their own needs, and therefore they have no incentive to continue reading, or because they did not acquire a solid enough reading competence in the first place.

UWIDITE has been involved in what could be described as the upper end of the education market, catering for the education of first year undergraduates, for the training needs of potential managers, involvement in technical training and generally has been a useful means of communicating education information over a wide area, although some strong criticisms of the system of teleconferencing are evident. These issues are pursued in Chapter Five.

The Growth of Distance Education

Early examples of distance education are to be found in Britain, Canada Germany, Sweden and the United States of America since the middle of the last century. In developing countries the growth of distance education is a post war phenomenon when newly independent states embraced it as a way forward in the use of scarce education resources, backed up by beliefs gained from the assumption that in developed countries this form of education was making a specific and worthwhile contribution (Edstrom, 1970).

In Jamaica distance education, initially, grew out of young teachers' demands for better qualification and correspondence courses were provided as early as 1959. These continued until 1971 and were replaced by the Teacher Upgrading Programme. JAMAL grew from the concerns of Jamaican governments about illiteracy since 1950 and expanded into the use of radio and television in the 1970's after evaluation exercises were carried out. (Young et al.,1980:193).

The Research Questions

1 Are there advantages in the use of distance education over traditional modes of education?

In the developing countries distance education is regarded as an economic way of reaching large numbers of people. Traditional education had not provided an adequate level of education, and resources in the form of books, teachers and learning environment were unsatisfactory. Distance teaching as a new and additional method of education also needs resources to function effectively. Could these additional resources be provided and could additional benefits be derived more economically than pursuing the goals of development through traditional means, for example, face to face education in the schools where, however unsatisfactory, some expertise and basic provision already exist?

2. Is the level of political co-operation between Jamaica Labour Party and the People's National Party sufficient to ensure a future for distance education?

In Jamaica distance education facilities provided during the reign of one political regime have been removed by another as uneconomic and something which the state cannot afford. This takes place in a country where the ideologies of the two political parties are indistinguishable. Ordering priorities therefore becomes the main bone of contention when the two parties compete for control of the country, particularly at election times.

3. What is the relationship between distance education and the extension of educational opportunity?

One form of rationale for distance education is that it will empower large numbers of people as a result of extended educational opportunities. The extended educational opportunity may be possible if there is a positive reaction to distance education. A positive relationship may be deemed to exist if the attempts at extending educational opportunity bring more people into the education process, especially those who would have been denied access.

4. What is the potential role of distance education with respect to national development?

Education is often cited as an attribute which is common to all developed countries. One way in which the benefits of distance education can be seen is in its contribution to the provision of the quality of skills the society needs.

If distance education has that potential then it is likely that positive attitudes now exist among those who deliver the service and those using it. There are other stakeholders such as politicians, aid agencies and various providers of private funding but their attitudes are, as we will see later, rather more complicated.

5. Who are the beneficiaries of distance education?

Another rationale for distance education is that it will benefit those who missed an earlier chance at education whether at the primary schools, high schools or in higher education. Are there then elements within the population who see first and second chances of education in their adult life as important and are therefore using the opportunity?

The thesis attempts to address these questions by exploring the development of distance education in Jamaica and by looking at the periods of distance education expansion and contraction with comments on the political and economic context in which development and contraction take place.

All the participants in the research were stakeholders with some knowledge of and interest in distance education. This created the possibility of a large sample being interviewed. Making the requirement more exact and focussed on people who were involved in education as teachers, administrators, or as politicians who also have some knowledge of distance education through their involvement, reduced the possibility of spending a lot of time with people who were 'interested' but felt that only 'experts' could deal with the subject. This area of difficulty is dealt with in Chapter Four.

Conclusion

This chapter looks at the background against which distance education was developed in Jamaica. It notes that the political dimension in a situation of scarcity is very influential in the establishment and maintenance of distance education.

It suggests that a significant amount of political consensus is needed in Jamaica, if distance education is to develop as a serious option, particularly in areas of education where the government has direct responsibility, such as teacher education and literacy.

The search for political consensus will need to concentrate on the kinds of values that need to be inculcated and where the development emphasis should be placed. Is development an issue for rural areas and what kinds of values are important for development in rural areas? Is the concentration on money, for development and people's well being, a viable option that can be pursued? These are questions that need to be asked in pursuing any development strategy. They were implicit in President Nyerere's observation on development that placing the emphasis on money was dealing with the problem the wrong way since money resulted from wealth creation. (President Nyerere of Tanzania, 1969)

Nyerere's points indicate that serious consideration should be given to rural areas in any development initiative. However that was in 1969 and times have changed, because of technological advance, putting question marks beside the use of agriculture as the basis for development. Some of these points are dealt with in Chapters Two, Six and Seven on issues of redistribution of wealth and types of development. When consideration is being given to rural areas there need to be some safeguards about how development is conducted. For here too problems can arise regarding who benefits and whether inequalities are dealt with satisfactorily.

Where efforts are made to bring technological development to rural areas, as in the case of bio-gas plants to rural parts of India, for example, it was the rich farmers who acquired the plants and because of this acquisition deprived the poor of dried cowdung which they collected and used for fuel. That technological assistance therefore increased the problems for many.

Economic development without established and workable links between the internal development agencies of a country also has consequences in relation to the change in social patterns they generate. Primary and secondary school leavers from rural areas migrate to the towns in search of work in the small industrial sectors which are unable to employ them and as a consequence many turn to crime (Harbison 1969, Curle 1973). There was certainly a growing tendency in Jamaica for this migration from the rural areas to the cities, which resulted in crime and violence which all governments have failed to control and which politicians have been accused of encouraging and exploiting for their own purposes.

The highly educated in Jamaica have not yet been affected, in the sense of large numbers of them being unemployed, but that situation has occurred in other countries in the region. In Mexico for example, there were high numbers of unemployed university graduates (Zubryn 1980) and politicians were faced with the prospect of increasing numbers of;

highly educated, vocal, frustrated and militant graduates with unrealistically high expectations (Harbison 1969 :102).

Development without co-ordination of the work of development agencies can lead to considerable disillusionment, not only because of the scope it leaves for uninformed opposition, through lack of understanding, but because it misses one essential point: that development is not merely about increasing the Gross National Product, a quantitative relationship, but that it is also about its use and distribution and people's relationship to it, a qualitative relationship.

Nyerere's, (1969) suggestion that the development of a country is brought about by people, (Ch. 2: 37) is making the case that in underdeveloped countries it is the whole society that is underdeveloped not just the economy and its methods of production. The aim then of development should be, in addition to improving the economy, to inculcate values of respect, reduction and elimination of violence, safeguards for the less fortunate from excessive abuses, co-operation from public officials, the reduction in 'get rich quick attitudes', and the best possible provision of material standards in order to secure growth in relative security. Internal co-operation on the ideological plane about education and by government institutions can set the stage for more continuous development in Jamaica.

This chapter sets out the problems and complications that are evident in setting up a distance education system in Jamaica, drawing upon the present situation but relating that situation to the problems existing in other developing countries. These problems relate to the uncertainty of resources, political opportunism, personal antagonism in politics, lack of competing ideologies, political differentiation on the basis of projects, no bi-partisan co-operation in distance education and the failure to set realistic development targets and measure their attainment and effectiveness.

Some of the problems discussed in the literature review in Chapter Two are also raised as a focus on the difficulties to be encountered when looking at distance education models and models of development. The question of a

methodology for the case study is raised in Chapter Three. In Chapters Four, Five and Six the results of the empirical work are presented and analysed which involves an analysis of the different competing political and social forces within Jamaica. Chapter Seven looks at one of the ways in which developing countries present their development plans with considerations about the realistic nature of such plans and the role of distance education in executing such plans. Chapter Eight draws together important points from the previous chapters and argues that this case study provides an understanding of the development of distance education in Jamaica which takes into account the political, economic and social constraints which have a profound bearing on what benefits are to be derived from it and to whom these benefits are distributed.

Chapter 2 . A Review of the Literature

Introduction.

The aim of the research is to investigate the relationship between distance education and development in Jamaica. In the literature on distance education and development there is no clear consensus about the extent to which distance education affects development. Many developing countries regard education, health and literacy as important indicators of development and as part of their citizens' human rights entitlement which governments have a responsibility to provide. In this respect it is not only an educational issue but also a political one. (Mutumbuka, 1987, Crowley, 1988).

This chapter reviews some of the theories which inform approaches to distance education and Third World development. The two issues, distance education and development, are controversial, involving complex debates about what constitutes distance education, and about whether some of the claims made for it can be justified. When applied to developing countries the development issue takes on added complexity, partly based on the practical problems involved, of deciding and implementing policies, and partly based on ideological issues about what constitutes development and policies for achieving it. Some of these issues are examined in order to gain an understanding of the extent to which distance education contributes to development in Jamaica and to locate the types of distance education that have made contributions.

Many of the so called developing countries only recently gained independence, where promises of a better quality of life through education have been focal points and unifying factors in achieving nationhood and where populations in some cases are expected to double in a short time, (Coldevin and Naidu, 1989: 9-10). Distance education, especially education broadcasting, is seen as a possible way of tackling 'illiteracy' and 'ignorance' and of contributing to development needs. This is due mainly to the belief that distance education has the potential for use with large numbers of people, as students, at the same time. The achievement of large student numbers, it is believed, would make distance education more cost effective than conventional education.

Distance Education.

During the decade of the 1960's many countries were changing their colonial status and gaining independence and found that they had inherited problems of illiteracy which, they believed, needed to be tackled urgently. Resources were restricted and ways had to be found to overcome this problem within their available resources. To address the problem relevant examples were sought and these examples were 'found' in the practice of distance education in industrialised countries. The examples regarded as relevant were acquired without a great deal of consideration for their application in totally different environments.

Jamaica is a country with a history of individuals participating in distance education, the method of learning in the past being through correspondence courses; but now the term 'distance education' seems to be widely accepted. This acceptance of the term coincided with the establishment of the University of the West Indies Distance Teaching Experiment (UWIDITE) in 1982 and the changing of the name of the International Council for Correspondence Education (ICCE) to the International Council for Distance Education (ICDE). (Holmberg, 1986; Keegan, 1986; Garrison, 1989.)

Perraton points out that:

the experience of multimedia distance teaching, which was only just being acquired in the rich countries, was seen as immediately relevant to the educational needs of the Third World. The decision to use distance teaching to meet some of the demands for more education was closer to the experience of the Soviet Union in the 1920's than to that in Britain or America. Distance teaching was seen not as a device to offer an alternative route to education for a small disadvantaged minority but as a resource that should be used on a large scale because of the economy it seemed to offer in terms of teachers and money. (Perraton 1982: 9-10)

The assumed economy was to be achieved through the economic use of qualified teachers which were in short supply. These highly qualified teachers could, through distance education methods, be used to educate large numbers of students. This practice developed in Jamaica in the 1970's. However it is essential to consider what constitutes distance education and what constitutes development because these two issues lie at the core of the

study.

Terms and Definitions

In order to determine what constitute distance education and development it is important that they are defined so as to create a framework in which the two issues are discussed. However, responses to questions about definitions of distance education and development tend to reflect the context in which they both exist and are discussed.

Neil states the problem this way:

obtaining a concise and satisfactory answer to such a question is difficult anyway and made more so by the variety of current terms associated, directly or indirectly, with the notion of 'education at a distance'. (Neil, 1981: 34).

Keegan considers the main characteristics of distance education to be as follows:

The quasi-permanent separation of teacher and learner throughout the length of the learning process; this distinguishes it from conventional face to face education - the influence of an educational organisation both in the planning and the preparation of learning materials and in the provision of student support services; this distinguishes it from private study and teach yourself programmes.

The use of technical media, print, radio, video or computer, to unite the teacher and learner and carry the content of the course.

The provision of two way communication so that the student may benefit from or even initiate dialogue; this distinguishes it from other uses of technology in education.

The quasi-permanent absence of the learning group throughout the length of the learning process so that people are usually taught as individuals and not in groups, with the possibility of occasional meetings for both didactic and socialisation purposes.

The presence of more industrialised features than in a conventional oral education.

The privatisation of institutional learning. (Keegan, 1986: 49-50)

In identifying these as main characteristics Keegan shows a way of recognising the differences between distance and other forms of education. These characteristics also separate distance education from other forms of mediated education which may be associated with the practice of distance

education, for example, programmed learning, educational television, teaching kits.

Examples of the terms show a wide range in use and convey a variety of approaches but what emerges from the use of a variety of terms and definitions is that the terms used and definitions given will be those which serve a particular purpose in a given situation and that, where common or similar situations occur, terms may also blend one into the other.

Rumble gives the following definition:

Distance education is a generic term that includes the range of teaching/learning strategies variously referred to as correspondence education or independent study in the United States of America; external studies in Australia; Tele-enseignement in France; Fernstudium or Fernunterricht in Germany; Educacion a Distancia or Ensenanza a Distancia in Spanish speaking countries and Teleducacao in Portuguese. (Rumble, and Harry, 1982: 11)

Kaye and Rumble (1981: 18-19) refer to distance education systems with key features which are:

- An enlargement or opening of opportunity by provision of education to new target populations, previously deprived through geographical isolation, lack of formal academic requirements, or employment conditions.
- The identification of particular target groups and their key characteristics (needs, age, distribution, time available for study, local facilities, etc.) to enable appropriate courses, learning methods and delivery systems to be designed for them on a systematic basis.

About the materials and methods which characterise the courses should be noted:

- A flexibility in the content and curriculum of the learning materials through, for example, modular structures or credit systems;
- The conscious and systematic design of learning materials for independent study, incorporating, for example, clearly formulated learning objectives, self assessment devices, and student activities, and containing features for the provision of feed back from students to

learning systems staff and vice versa;

- The planned use of a wide range of different media and other resources selected from those available in the context of the system, and suited to the needs of the students; in different contexts these may include specially prepared correspondence texts, books, newspaper supplements, posters, radio and TV broadcasts, audio and video cassettes, films, computer-assisted learning, kits, local tuition and counselling, student self-help groups, lending library facilities, and so on.

Finally, the following logistical and economic infrastructure are characteristic of distance learning systems:

- A great potential flexibility compared with conventional provision in implementation, in teaching methods, and in student groups covered;
- Centralised, high volume production of standardised learning materials (such as texts, broadcasts kits and so on) in an almost industrialised manner, implying clear division of labour in the creation and production procedures;
- A systematic search for, and use of, existing infrastructure and facilities as part of the system (e. g. libraries, postal and other distribution services, printers, publishers, broadcasting organisations, manufacturers, etc.);
- potentially a significantly lower recurrent unit cost per student than that obtainable through conventional [classroom or equivalent] teaching arrangements and also potentially a considerably lower cost per student. (Kaye and Rumble, 1981: 53)

Some distance teaching organisations function without large scale production of their own print materials. For example, in the case of the University of the West Indies Distance Teaching Experiment (UWIDITE) the courses are based on other long established university courses and use the same source materials as those courses. Some of the literature in use was not produced for distance education specifically with UWIDITE, but was part of a programme, labelled Challenge, developed earlier to provide opportunities for students in the region. (see Chapter Five, for an explanation of 'Challenge'). These students were unable to attend on-campus courses. They received credits if they passed the exams but the University did not provide course work. This literature met some of the

demands generated by the introduction of the UWIDITE project.

The main features of distance education that these definitions have in common is the quasi-permanent separation of teacher and learner, the quasi-permanent absence of the learning group and the use of technology which allows flexibility for the learner and teacher. Keegan's characteristics represent the definition which most approximates to a working definition of distance education, suitable for working with in the context of this study.

As with a definition of distance education, a definition of development can be related to context. Such contexts may be determined by ideology. Crowley provides us with some examples of the problems in defining development as:

The progressive humanisation of life embracing liberation from famine, disease and ignorance as well as emancipation from all servitude and domination.(Crowley, 1988: 6)

In this definition development assumes material, moral, political and social imperatives. The way in which this is brought about is not spelt out but it can be realised either through the demands made on the state or implemented by a government with the vision and determination to do so.

Nyerere suggested that:

development of a country is brought about by people, not by money. Money and the wealth it represents, is the result and not the basis of development (Nyerere 1969: 243).

With these definitions development is that which people achieve, collectively, either by their own efforts or with assistance, and is a process that takes place over time. It may lead to their liberation from a number of things and may result in the production of wealth which money represents.

The aim then of development should be, in addition to improving the economy, to inculcate values of respect, reduction and elimination of undesirable behaviour, safeguards for the less fortunate from excessive abuses, co-operation from public officials, the reduction in 'get rich quick attitudes', and the best possible provision of material standards in order to secure growth in relative security. Internal co-operation, on the ideological

plane, about education in and between governments and their institutions can set the stage for the kinds of developments that are required.

Models of Distance Education

In the educational world systems and projects exist for specific purposes, are based upon particular philosophies and are ideologically justified and defended at the time the projects are set up or during the course of their operation. Whatever defence or argument is mounted in their favour, it is done in order to ensure their passage into reality, or to ensure and prolong their existence. The development and expansion of comprehensive schools in the 1960's in the United Kingdom is but an example of how ideology of equality is used to defend and promote educational organisation and change. A return to more traditional and selective forms of education in the 1990's is a further example of educational policies being ideologically determined.

Models of distance education are no less affected by ideology and philosophy. Rumble (1986 :24) refers to the comprehensive classifications of Joyce and Weil and Bertrand stating that the framework developed by Bertrand divides educational models into three broad categories:

1. Institution-centred models.
2. Person-centred models.
3. Society-centred models.

He describes the institution-centred models as those which treat learning as the processing, storing, and retrieval of information or information processing models. Models that are person-centred tend to analyse education from a humanistic perspective, putting the main emphasis on individual growth, on the 'meaningfulness' and the personal significance of learning experiences and motivation of the learner. Models which are based on social action and social interaction, where the main role of education is to bring about change in society and in social structures and institutions, represent the society-centred models. Although projects exist which Rumble argues:

are exclusively designed around particular educational models... decisions about teaching styles and educational methods are left to the initiative of individual teachers and departments and in the best of cases choices will be made from the whole range of different models.

(Rumble,1982: 25)

By plotting Keegan's seven defining characteristics of distance education in terms of their relative importance, Rumble has shown that the general impression is that most institution-centred models of distance education are information processing models, with high teacher-student separation, media use and privatisation, and low to medium use of two-way communication and group learning.

The institution-centred models focus on 'high standards' that are to be maintained without defining what such standards are or may be, and this is done within the context of mass education. The question then is whether what they do can be recognised as mass education or whether what we are really talking about is mass-instruction, which implies transferring knowledge from a person who 'knows' to many who 'do not'.

Miller makes the point that:

distance education is an educational innovation. Its uniqueness rests in the management of how people learn, not primarily in what they learn. Models of distance education then, reflect models of learning. Given the developing state of theory and research into human learning, particularly as that theory applies to learning in live social and cultural contexts outside formal education settings where most distance education learners are located, models of learning and distance education must be seen in exploratory and evolutionary terms. Of all educational enterprises then, distance learning must be constantly innovative, exploring regularly new ways to link learner through processes to content. (Miller, 1989 :13)

The discussion here about distance education is not about theory. It is about method, 'new ways of linking learner and content'. The discussion about theory relates to what people learn and the influence of social context on what is learned. Nevertheless if distance education is to be 'constantly innovative' and continuously 'exploring new ways' then one could argue that distance education is being placed in the forefront of educational development because it is seen as a possible way of contributing to educational development and innovation. Innovation and exploration need also to be rigorously managed in order to avoid overloading and destabilisation of distance education systems. If overloading occurs it creates distractions and frustrations which in turn retard effective contribution to

development, which is the purpose for its establishment in developing countries.

Why Distance Education?

Throughout the discussions on Distance Education there is an implication of a relationship between distance education and development which puts a great deal of responsibility on distance education. Such a responsibility applies equally to industrialised countries as it does to developing countries, except in the case of the latter much more seems to be at stake.

Penalver observes:

When we look at the evolution of developed countries, we see a close relationship between education, scientific research and technological growth on the one hand and political, economic, and social progress on the other. The role of education as an agent of social change has increased as a result of the development of education systems and process and through the application of scientific and technological advancement that widen the scope, content and effectiveness of education. Open or distance education serves as an example. A result of rapid progress in technology and communications, it constitutes a new and revolutionary education category. (Penalver, 1990 :21)

This elaborate claim is not being made for distance education alone but for education generally. However an emphasis is being placed on a special role for distance education as a 'new and revolutionary category' that could be applied in achieving, for developing countries, what the developed countries have achieved scientifically and economically. There is an association between development and education as applied to developed countries but the case is not made that education is the main determinant in this achievement. Penalver makes even more extravagant claims for distance education and suggests that:

open or distance education constitutes the most advanced level of social activity that has continuously raised human capabilities and achievements through a social historical process that Bronowsky (1981) has termed the *"Ascent of Man"*. (ibid)

The Commonwealth Meeting of Specialists: Distance Teaching in Higher Education Report 1985, saw a number of roles for distance teaching. Expressed in modest terms, it says:

Distance teaching has been adapted for various audiences and for various reasons. Some countries have taken it up as a cost effective way of producing graduates and one which is particularly attractive where the numbers demanding education are pressing against budgetary limits. In some cases it has been conceived primarily as a way of expanding the supply of trained manpower. But arguments about access are also important; distance teaching makes it possible to reach audiences who would otherwise not have access to education (Report 1985: 3).

Clarke, writing on the role of radio and television in mass education, took this position much earlier, suggesting that:

there are several practical reasons why the mass media are increasingly used in modern education. Most countries want to increase the extent and variety of education they offer to their citizens and they are faced with the lack of suitable teachers. Beyond this they have problems of distance, of carrying the best education to remote areas and of giving further education to people who are working and have little time to spare. Obviously the mass media can do much to help solve these problems. (Clarke, 1970; 302).

The methods of delivering distance education may have improved radically in the last two decades but the rationale for it remains with few alterations. There still remains a view that distance education helps development, that it is necessary because of inadequate provision in the formal sector and the shortage of teachers.

The practical reasons given for developing and implementing distance education do not however always link into the theories of distance education especially with regards to developing countries. For example theories that regard distance education as a product of the industrialisation process (Peters, 1988) do not appear to adequately explain the application of distance education in non-industrialised societies, which is what developing countries are.

A discussion of some of the more important and leading distance education theories is essential in order to gain an understanding of the complexity of the situation in which distance education is being applied.

Theoretical Approaches to Distance Education.

There are several theoretical approaches to distance education which may be grouped as: industrialisation theory; interaction and communication theories; autonomy and independence theories, (Keegan, 1988 :6)

These theories are important for three reasons. 1. Distance education viewed as a product of ideas from the industrial era has to be set against the non-industrial background of developing countries. 2. The importance of communication and interaction without the necessary infrastructure to facilitate it and where some teaching material may not have been specially prepared for use in distance education. 3. Whether autonomy and independence can be a reality for the distance education student in developing countries given 1 and 2. Consideration of these theories would therefore shed some light on their validity for distance education in developing countries.

Industrialisation Theory

Peters, the main exponent of this theory, believes that distance education is a product of the period of industrial development which is "complementary to the industrial and technological age" and not at all like the face to face method which is derived from the pre-industrial age.

Peters based some of his ideas on the fact that distance education materials are mass produced, stored and distributed and that distance education requires the use of reliable postal services and efficient communication and transport systems, all products of the industrial era. For Peters, therefore, traditional concepts of education are only of limited use in an analysis of this industrial form of education.

Peters gave a summary of his ideas as:

1. The structure of distance teaching is determined to a considerable degree by the principles of industrialisation, in particular by those of rationalisation, division of labour and mass production.
2. The teaching process is gradually re-structured through increasing mechanisation and automation.
3. These changes are the reason for the following structural characteristics to have emerged:
 - the development of distance study courses is just as important as the

preparatory work taking place prior to the production process.
-the effectiveness of the teaching process is particularly dependent on planning and organisation.
-the teaching process is largely objectified.
-the function of academics teaching at a distance has changed considerably university teachers in conventional teaching.
-distance teaching can only be economical with a concentration of available resources and a centralised administration. (Peters, 1989: 95)

Adopting an approach based on this theory suggests a need for substantial national physical infrastructure, particularly in terms of efficient communication, especially telephone and postal communication. It also suggests, according to Peters, a level of rationalisation, division of labour, assignment of fragmented tasks to specialists, mechanization and automation. The traditional form of teaching, for example, face to face teaching, requires preparatory work before the teaching is delivered and therefore preparedness is not confined to assembly type production processes only.

In traditional teaching the function of the teacher is spread out among different individuals at the point of teaching and in many education institutions there is a division of labour based on different teachers teaching different subjects. Teaching aids, for traditional education, are mass produced and therefore have an element of the division of labour within them, although it is not distance education.

Since it is argued that mass production is necessary to achieve economies of scale, British schools could achieve economies of scale when they were all administered by the Local Education Authorities. This could have been achieved through bulk purchase of equipment. On the question of qualified central administration the Local Education Authority plays that role in its management of the education within a given area.

For the five factors suggested by Peters distance education appears to be similar to other forms of state education and on his criteria is also a product of the industrial society. Education develops and responds to the developments within the society that it serves, is socially constructed within that society and in that way all education is a product of its social context. (Botkin, 1979). If the society is industrialised then education as a social construct will reflect that industrialised society.

Keegan says:

All forms of human life have been heavily influenced by the industrial revolution. Only traditional forms of education in schools and colleges have remained outside it, except for the phenomenon of education at a distance. (Keegan, 1990 :74)

However, Farnes points out that if distance education cannot be analysed in the same terms as traditional education:

then the methods used to expand conventional education have been out of step (i.e. not proceeding in parallel with industrialisation) and contrary to Peters' general point that industrial education is part of the same long term historical and economic process that has transformed work, consumption, communication, and leisure. (Farnes, 1992 : 1)

Sewart in a comparative study analyses some of the complex issues and processes involved in understanding distance education and then gives a definition of distance education as:

a rationalised method - involving the division of labour - providing knowledge which, as a result of applying the principles of industrial organisation as well as the extensive use of technology, thus facilitating the reproduction of objective teaching in any numbers, allows a large number of students to participate in university study simultaneously, regardless of their place of residence and occupation. (Sewart, 1983: 111)

This definition not only favours the category of distance education as an industrial process but it raises, though in a restricted way, questions relating to the democratisation and development of education in terms of allowing mass participation in education at all levels, especially at tertiary level, independent of location and occupation.

Rumble has suggested that:

Perhaps the majority of distance education projects in the formal education sector (i. e. concerned with secondary and tertiary level academic education) are what Bertrand would call institution centred education, inspired predominantly by systematic models of education. An over-riding concern often appears to be that of making the system as efficient and cost-effective as possible: educational planners, operational staff, media producers, instructional designers and evaluators are often assigned key roles in the institutional structures.(Rumble, (1986:26)

Rumble's points suggest economic considerations are also important influences in the kinds of educational models that are developed for distance education. The influence of the different experts, co-ordinated to produce an 'efficient' service, shows that there is a division of labour present and possibly the industrialised model proposed by Peters.

The developing countries may use products of the industrialisation process but the necessary infrastructure essential for efficient functioning of distance education in developed or industrialised countries are usually conspicuous by their absence in the developing countries. An efficient communication system, which includes 'good' roads, efficient postal and telephone systems, is usually absent in the developing countries. Where they exist they are confined to the urban areas and even here only the urban middle-class have access to all of them. Their relevance to the urban poor is therefore marginal and as a part of the industrialising process, distance education would not be enabling the extension of democratic participation.

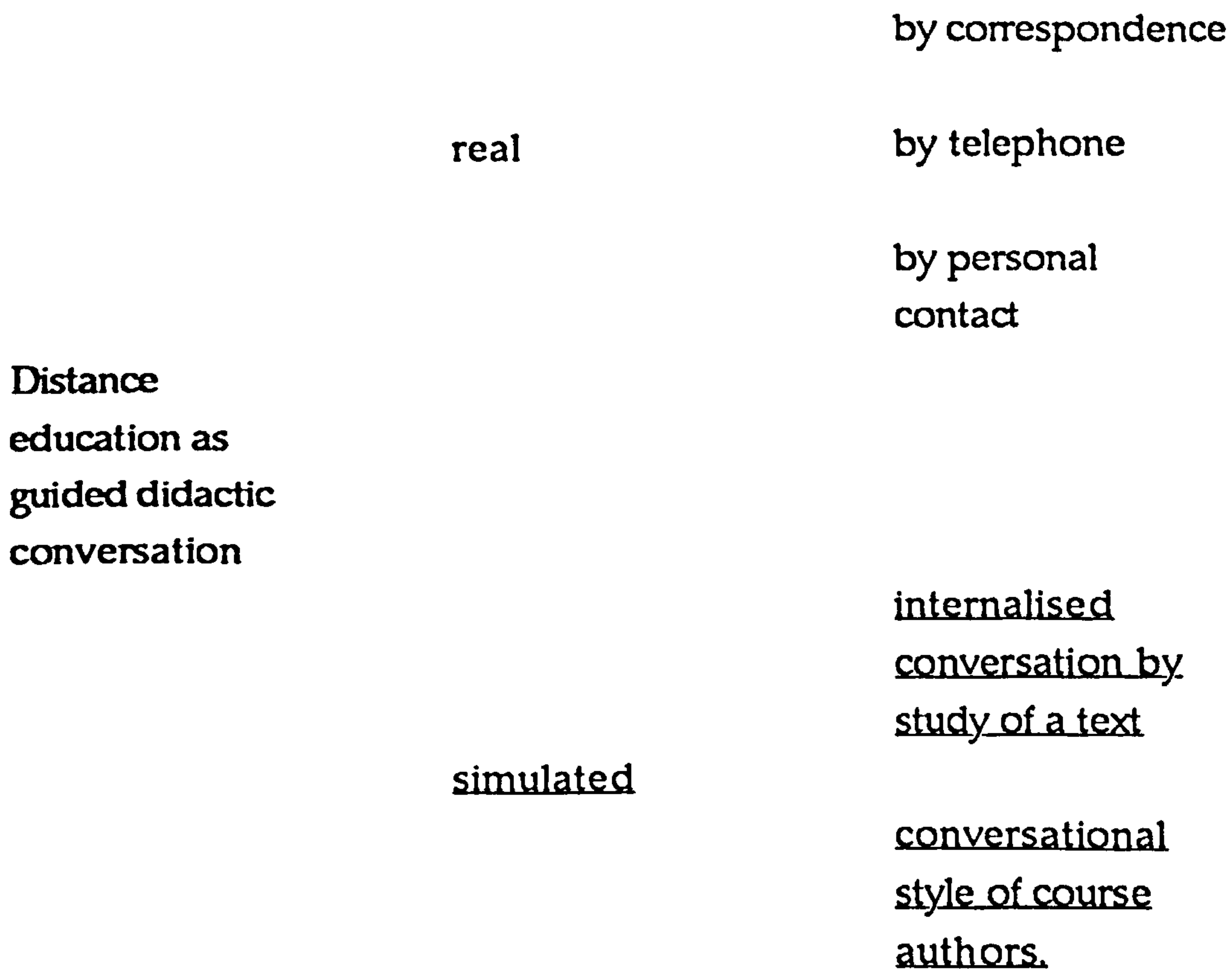
Other theories, the communication and interaction theories and the theory of autonomy and independence, have made important contributions to our understanding of distance education in the context of developing countries, and are discussed below.

Communication and Interaction Theories

Holmberg's theories of communication and interaction focus on the institution and its ability to provide the requisite learning experience for students after the learning materials have been developed and distributed. His characterisation of distance study shows it to be self study although the student is not alone. Because of the way learning materials are developed, they facilitate two way communication. In addition there is continuous interaction between the tutor, student and representatives of supporting organisations in what is regarded as guided didactic conversation.

Holmberg's guided didactic conversation

Fig 2 . 1



Holmberg's approach is based on the following seven postulates:

1. That feelings of a personal relationship between the teaching and learning parties promote study pleasure and motivation.
2. That such feelings can be fostered by well developed self-instructional material and suitable two-way communication at a distance.
3. That intellectual pleasure and study motivation are favourable to the attainment of study goals and the use of proper study processes and methods.
4. The atmosphere, language and conventions of friendly conversation favour the feelings of personal relationships described in the first postulate.
5. That messages given and received in conversational forms are comparatively easily understood and remembered.
6. That the conversation concept can be successfully translated for use by the media available to distance education.
7. That planning and guiding the work, whether provided by the teacher, organisation or the student, is necessary for organised study which is characterised by explicit and implicit goal concepts. (Holmberg 1983: 115-116)

Keegan (1983) Holmberg, (1985), McIntosh (1971), give a range of reasons for

studying at a distance. The reasons are given below in the form of a list:

1. Working and/or family conditions which require students to work at times that preclude their attending regular classes.
2. Shortages of instructional materials and expertise which limit the students' access to education.
3. Insufficient places in the conventional schools.
4. The inability of the conventional school to cope with the rapidly expanding population.
5. Geographical problems or living in geographically isolated areas that inhibit regular classroom attendance.
6. Physical handicaps.

Additionally some students have also indicated that they prefer to study at a distance because of the adaptability and convenience it allows them to develop at their own pace and at times of their own choosing. A preference has also been expressed by some for learning alone rather than with others.

Learning relevant to the needs of the learner has also been one of Holmberg's contributions to distance education. He argues:

Distance teaching will support student motivation, promote learning pleasure and effectiveness if offered in a way felt to make the study relevant to the individual learner and his/her needs, creating feelings of rapport between the learner and the distance education institution (its tutors, counsellors etc.), facilitating access to course content, engaging the learner in activities, discussions and decisions, and generally catering for helpful, real and simulated communication to and from the learner (Holmberg, 1986 : 123).

The humanistic tendencies for which Holmberg is known come out clearly here. He is concerned that built into distance teaching should be as much support as the learner requires, and that the two way communication (rapport) should be as close as possible, therefore reducing the risk of any feeling of isolation to negligible proportions. This actually requires efficient and workable methods of communication, for example by telephone, which is not available in a vast number of settings in developing countries.

The available technology at UWIDITE does not provide adequate communication and the learning materials were not developed specifically for use in distance education. However distance education takes place with a degree of improvisation to overcome the lack of interaction between

students and between students and teachers. The extent to which improvisation has helped to overcome the lack of interactive training materials needs to be investigated to understand its effect.

Baath agrees with this view. He believes that two way communication is one of the central issues in distance education and sees interaction as being provided within the materials by means of:

exercises, questions, or self check tests with detailed model or specimen answers. (Baath,1980 : 12).

For Baath there are also other kinds of interaction that can be established with the tutor through computer, face to face contact, mail and telephone, whilst the most important role of the tutor remains the pedagogical functions. Baath seems undecided, because after listing the pedagogical functions he returns to interaction in the form of the tutor establishing a relationship with the learner which he believes will encourage learning. His self check exercises give the student a form of autonomy but this is really seen as part of the student interaction built into the material and is a form of simulated conversational style that depends on the text and the style of the course authors.

Autonomy and Independence

The theory of autonomy and independence focuses on the individual in study as one of the central ingredients of distance education. One exponent of the influence of the individual on his work is Wedemeyer. He uses the term "independent study" as comparable to distance education at university level which he argues should be self pacing, individualised and offer freedom in goal and selection.

This theory has implications for the distance education student in higher education in the Caribbean who has to follow the same syllabus as the traditional student in face to face methods and take exams at pre-determined times. The tutor has a great degree of influence over the student because of the student's needs to interact with the tutor due largely to the lack of learning/teaching materials on which the student can rely.

Wedemeyer explains that:

independent study is that learning that changes behaviour, that results from activities carried on by learners in space and time, learners whose environment is different from that of the school, learners who may be guided by teachers, but who are not dependent on them, learners who accept degrees of freedom and responsibility in initiating and carrying out the activities that lead to learning. (Wedemeyer, 1973 :73)

What Wedemeyer proposes reduces the role of the teacher to a bare minimum of possible guidance. But presumably at that stage of reduction in the teacher's role the influence of a pre-designed course would play a major part in influencing the way the student undertakes the work and the amount of study pleasure that the student experiences.

Moore comments on independent study and says:

Independent study is a generic term describing a major category of educational transactions which are classified by the differentia distance, i.e. the learning programme occurs separate in time and place from the teaching programme, and autonomy i.e. the learner has an influence equal to the teacher (Moore, 1983 : 78)

For both Wedemeyer and Moore there is emphasis on the common feature of separation of learner and teacher and importance of the influence of the learner.

Daniel and Marquis (1979), viewing distance education from the perspective of management, categorised distance education activities as falling in two groups; (a) independent activities and (b) interactive activities.

Independent and Interactive

Figure 2. 2

Independent

reading a text

watching television at home

conducting a home experiment

writing assignments

Interactive

discussion on telephone

marking and commenting on assignments

group discussions

residential summer schools

Source: Daniel and Marquis (1979)

Although Daniel and Marquis see feedback and socialisation as important determinants of interactive activities, they see socialisation as the less important of the two for the part-time adult student. They consider feedback to be crucial because students want to know how they are progressing in their studies, if their assignments are correct, what errors there are and how to correct them.

For students Daniel and Marquis suggest a pacing system, because of the fear that the more freedom the learner has the less likely he or she is to complete the course. Pacing is an important form of support for student completion of the course.

From the economic point of view Daniel has also contributed to the difference between independent and interactive activities:

Independent activities have great possibilities of economies of scale since the marginal costs of printing extra copies of texts or broadcasting to more students are low. However the cost of interactive activities tends to increase in direct proportion to the number of students. (Daniel and Marquis, 1979: 32)

Economies of scale may not be possible with direct or real interactive activities, although these may be important for the improvement of some students' performance. The cost of independent activities may benefit from the economies of scale and make instructional packages cheaper as their numbers grow. It is therefore important for simulated interaction to be built into the course material.

In response to growing student numbers Daniel's suggestion is that in writing the economics of distance education the cost of independent and interactive activities should be stated and that a balance should be kept between the two in facilitating student learning. Balancing of the two activities suggests a reduction in overall costs as savings are made on independent activities due to economies of scale.

The diversity and range of theories represent an attempt to link the means of communication and educational theory for the benefit of the learner. The theorising of distance education in such diverse ways enables decisions to be taken and justified in a variety of situations where distance education

develops. Context is therefore a major influence on theories of distance education. These theories have, however, not yet begun to show any concentration on the learner in terms of why distance education becomes the chosen option rather than attendance at an education institution.

Theories of Development

Development is inevitably a normative term since it implies direction, a sense of the worthwhile. Without canvassing the endless definitions of that term I would suggest that development, whether in a Western or Third World context, is essentially a process through which the potential of human beings can be realised. (Botkin, 1979: 14) This understanding of development encapsulates the understanding that development is by people for the benefit of people and underpins the context within which this thesis deals with development.

Human potential can be realised in different ways and through different processes. The realisation of human potential, embodied in the Arusha Declaration, proposed development through Ujamaa (familyhood) and a development ideology of self-reliance. Self-reliance was to be achieved, according to Nyerere, by avoiding the incorrect weapon for development. He said:

In the past we have chosen the wrong weapon for our struggle, because we chose money as our weapon. We are trying to overcome our economic weakness by using the weapons of the economically strong, weapons which in fact we do not possess. By our thoughts, words and actions it appears as if we have come to the wrong conclusion that without money we cannot bring about the revolution we are aiming at. It is as if we have said, Money is the basis of development. Without money there can be no development. (Nyerere, 1968: 18)

Because Tanzania did not have any money, this approach was an indication that dependency on foreign states who had money would be rejected as the basis of development for this newly independent country. It was believed that even if other 'rich' states were willing to invest, lend or give money to Tanzania, it would not be possible to achieve the level and quality of development that was desirable. Self-reliance would therefore be the path chosen for development.

This does not suggest that foreign assistance would not be acceptable or welcomed. All help with development would be welcomed but that development would be based on self-reliance. In this connection self-reliance was both an economic and a political strategy. The range, speed and direction of development would be determined by the needs of Tanzania as it was seen and understood at the time by the ruling political party, Tanganyika African National Union. (TANU). Development would also be linked to the socialist ideology of the party and as such would not be exploitative in any way and therefore development for private gain would not feature in the development strategy.

Later however Remi argued that self-reliance of TANU failed and then suggests reasons for the failure which include the inability of the Party to confront the wealthy elements who occupied strategic positions in the co-operative movement. Some issues were also about the lack of ideological clarity due to the failure to educate the peasants. The argument runs:

The question arises, whether the Ujamaa villages can really attain socialism and self reliance when the Party and Government cadres mobilisation campaign mainly stressed the material incentive in the form of government aid. This has led many of the poor peasants to regard their own productive efforts as ineffective and therefore to rely only on government aid for almost everything. This means that the Party and Government cadres, far from carrying out an ideological and political mobilisation campaign to raise the political consciousness of the ... farmers, have, in effect, fallen back on the easy way out, promising the material incentive of government aid as the sole basis for transforming the village into a socialist village. (Remi, Vol. One, Number 3/4 : 54 undated.)

An important understanding of self-reliance is that if it is to be taken on board successfully, people need to believe in themselves and their own capacity to achieve their objectives. Only the minimum of assistance from the government or anyone else would be required except in cases where progress cannot be made without such assistance. This approach to self-reliance as a strategy for ending the economic relationship between the centre and the periphery, what is known as the dependency syndrome, is an essential part of the learning process. That process should have been built into the mobilisation programme. Its absence meant that there was no ideological background for supporting the mobilisation programme and actions were running ahead of consciousness. Once dependency on

government begins, its extension to dependency on other agencies follows.

The reason for failures may also be found elsewhere. For example Coles explains that:

one of the major reasons for the failure of development work has been attributed to the fact that developers have not recognised that people are an integral part of development. (Coles, 1989: 19)

This observation by Coles suggests an approach, very close to Nyerere's that:

In order properly to implement the policy of self reliance, the people must be taught the meaning of self-reliance and its practice in order to become self-sufficient in food, serviceable clothes and good housing. (Nyerere, 1969: 33)

The achievement of self-sufficiency however is not enough. If agriculture is to become the basis of national self-sufficiency then a national surplus is required for conversion into development investment. Local surplus in agricultural products is also required, if it is to be the basis of wealth creation in the village and needs to be contained in the education process for linking production to development.

The linking of education to development and the ability to show the practical relationship between the two is an important part of the political process for developing countries which governments need to understand for meaningful communication to take place between government and people. Nettleford points out that:

governments have even been voted out of power for forgetting that education is good for development or that the social return on every dollar spent on education is important to poor countries of the Caribbean precisely because they are debt-stressed, over-taxed and enfeebled by the decline of real income among their work forces. (Nettleford, 1991: 17)

Although Nettleford is writing about the Caribbean in general, the way in which people relate to education in Jamaica can be seen in the context of the opportunities that are opened up to the educated. But it is also stressed that indebtedness is a symptom of underdevelopment and relief from or ridding a country of that burden starts it on the way to development.

Miller, in discussing aspects of Nettleford's work, raises some interesting points about development. He says that:

Nettleford points out the necessity for Caribbean peoples to go beyond the cosy bipolarisations that dominate current thinking about social reality. He (Nettleford) can be interpreted to mean that there is under-development in the developed world and development in the under-developed world: some South in the North and some North in the South. That Capitalism and Communism are but two denominations and doctrinal positions of materialism which must of necessity in the future come to more ecumenical postures and practices. Therefore Caribbean peoples contemplating their future should avoid these simple-minded bi-polar classifications of the complexities of human societies and adopt instead a more holistic approach. (Miller, 1991: 231)

Supporting evidence that ecumenical postures work and that bi-polar classifications are simple minded are however absent. Now, for example, the two dominant world ideologies of Capitalism and Communism are no longer in competition. Capitalism has displaced Communism as a major player in the world economic and political stakes, but the conditions of poverty affecting developing countries remain, with all their old problems and with no positive or dramatic changes.

Miller (1991) finds development is dealt with in terms that are too simplistic. Perhaps a willingness, on the part of industrialised nations, to learn from underdeveloped countries would help in developing a broader understanding of the issues involved. How, for example, is it that Barbados, according to Miller, also with an interest in distance learning, has as high a literacy rate as many industrialised countries and manages to achieve this level of educational development at a lower cost than the advanced countries?

Miller distrusts the term development and states this distrust by making an analogy with biological development and further argues that:

Development in society could be anything that is conceivable. The notion becomes so wide that it has limited scientific value since it is virtually impossible to prove or disprove any definition given. (ibid)

This criticism of the use of the term "development" leaves one wondering whether an alternative will be offered. When the term is used, however it is

often qualified. Miller qualifies it in biological development. Other examples, may be development in distance education or economic development. Terms themselves are not the problem. It is the way in which they are used and the explanation as to what the terms represent that generates an understanding.

Daniel, quoting Fletcher (1976), says that development:

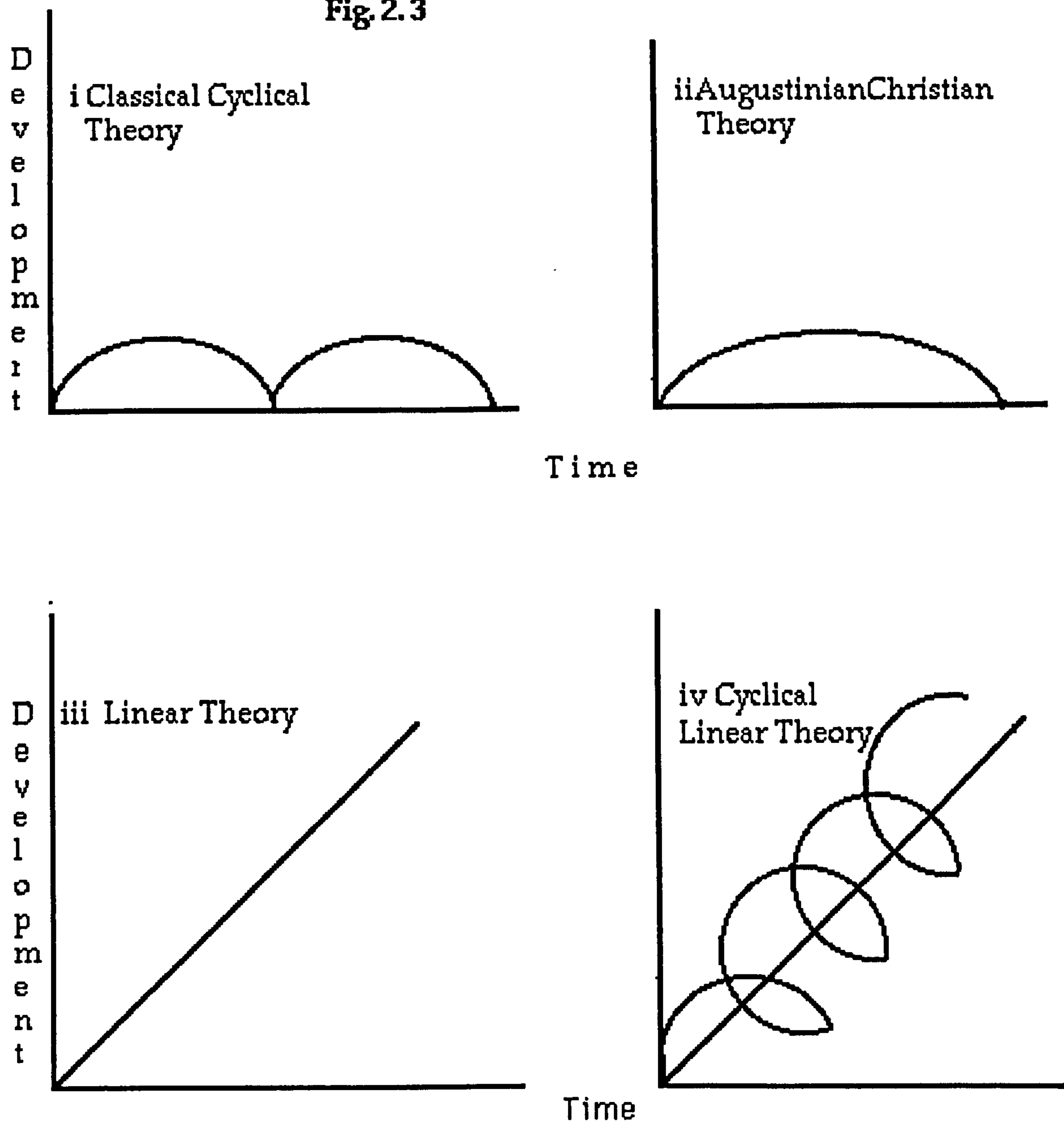
can mean the actualization of an implicit personality, the simplest example being the patterned maturation and growth of a seed, or an initial germ cell to the full adult form of the individual plant or animal or human person. (Daniel 1990: 102)

The analogy, according to Daniel, implies that development occurs over time and in cycles and so we have the cycles of life and death. Daniel points out that Fagerland and Sha (1983) have traced the history of the notion of development cycles through four stages. These four stages Daniel represents schematically as: 1. Classical Cyclical Theories; 2. Augustinian Christian Theory; 3. Linear Theory and 4. Cyclical Linear Theory.

The first theory has its origin in the Greek Roman belief that cycles of growth and decay are recurrent. According to Daniel these beliefs were later echoed by an Islamic thinker who emphasised never ending conflict as a reason for such cycles. The second theory presented development as a single major cycle culminating in the end of the material world. The third theory sees development as continuous through time based on faith in mankind and that all societies develop through these stages. Fourthly, the cyclical linear theory has developed as a response to events this century, (Daniel, 1990) making a belief in steady continuous progress untenable, i. e., continuous in the longer term but not steady in the short term. The theories are illustrated below.

Development Theories

Fig. 2.3



In an attempt to focus our attention on some of the problems involved Fuglesgang draws our attention to the fact that:

It has been acknowledged that development means more than simply pouring capital investment into a nation, developing industry and natural resources: development measured as economic growth has failed to appear to the extent forecast (Fuglesgang, 1972: 16).

Theories of development vary from one set of conditions to another and may have not 'appeared to the extent forecast' in some places. There is however general agreement in the literature that education and people are important and that improvement and increase in resources are important outcomes of development. However the range of theories have their basis in: 1. Where people live and their economic and social conditions. 2. The ideological position of the individual or country.

Sometimes when development fails to occur it is regarded as having failed because of the inappropriate application of the ideology or a failure to ensure adequate education and preparation. Failure may also imply both and is used in political conflict between political parties to attract or discourage support

Distance Education and Development [in Developing Countries]

In developing countries there is a high demand for education at various levels evidenced by applications to tertiary education institutions, a high attendance rate at basic education level and a high take up rate in some forms of adult education. This demand for education is one of the few areas that influences 'radical politicians' in the form of policy statements and electoral politics when trying to have as broad a 'class appeal' as possible. It is also one of the real growth areas in developing and recently independent countries. Through education it is believed the pace of development can be accelerated and the existing abundant supply of labour put to work. The problems that are believed to be created by illiteracy are regarded as the main obstacles to development and effective communication.

There have been persuasive arguments that education assists development. Denison concluded that for periods 1930-1960 the diffusion of education in the USA accounted for twenty three per cent of the annual growth rate (Blaug, 1970). The evidence is very persuasive and may have accounted for

the response that education assists development.

The World Development Report on education and productivity shares this view and argues that:

The principal asset of the poor is labour time. Education increases the productivity of this asset. The result at the individual level, as many studies have shown, is higher income. More research also points to a strong link between education and economic growth.

In the wage sector the individual returns to education are consistently above returns to conventional investments. It is true that most people in the developing world do not work for wages and that many of the poor are self employed in agriculture or in small family enterprises, but this does not weaken the case for investment in education. (W D R, 1990: 80)

This could be presented in the form of an equation, ($a + e = d$), where 'a' is active labour, 'e' is education and 'd' represents development. The complexity of development and development issues need to be carefully addressed in order to describe what is meant by any particular statement about development in either a developed or underdeveloped country. At the present time, countries that are industrialised are regarded as developed but they may be declining with respect to other developed countries in terms of rate of growth and social provision and in relation to some developing countries. It is also possible that in some areas some developing countries may be using their resources more efficiently and be in a situation from which developed, industrialised countries could learn and benefit.

The question of what constitutes the needs of adults in developing countries that can be met by education is not always made clear by supporters of adult education, whether or not that education is to be delivered through distance teaching or face to face methods. Problems cited in taking 'education to the people' centre around how they will be rewarded by such education.

In the early seventies, however, this optimism began to be questioned by major aid agencies such as the World Bank and the Ford Foundation as to the reliance on education for development. The clock seems to be completing two circles in this period of time, with the World Bank Report (1990) again suggesting that there is a link between literacy and higher

agricultural production and personal earnings.

Reward for Education

Fordham sees the main solution to the problem of reward for education as one in which people who receive their education in the formal education sector successfully, receive higher rewards in their work in the modern sector of the economies in developing countries while those in the traditional sector receive low wages.

He argues that:

If the reward structure of the society is radically changed to enable those in the traditional sector to earn a reasonable income compared with those with formal education working in the modern sector, it is likely that this will reduce, though not eliminate, the demand for that type of formal education which is irrelevant to the development of life skills needed in the society. And in this context the demand for the more useful education is likely to increase. (Fordham, 1980: 11).

Fordham has raised a number of issues here. First is the question of the reward structure in developing countries. In some discourse the increasing of reward for those in the traditional sector is called 'a redistribution of wealth' or 'provision of economic opportunities'. Political decisions are necessary to bring about a redistribution of wealth in favour of the poor or to provide economic opportunities in any society. The transferring of wealth from rich to poor also involves the transfer of some power. Political skill is needed to effect any transfer that redistributes power and the acquisition and application of those skills are as important as creating equal educational and economic opportunities. However the discussion should centre on how wealth can be increased rather than a redistribution of what actually exists. In this way the process will be one of levelling up rather than levelling down because what is being redistributed is the increase in wealth.

Questions concerning the reward for development have been raised by Duke (1987), who identifies ten issues that are presented as questions which are pertinent to development and development strategies in the developing countries. Although the questions themselves give rise to further questions, these questions in part provide a basis for the analysis of distance education and development in Jamaica. The questions relate directly to issues such as, who benefits, how is consciousness developed in the process of applying development initiatives, reducing or avoiding dependency, and how people

are mobilised to implement change.

Duke's and Fordham's views contain elements of each other but when combined suggest that detailed questions about development need to be asked, analysed and answered. The questions will be about the kinds of developments that are required and the organisation that will be required to deliver changes. Development would then have specific purposes. It would also have a direction with checks being made at strategic times, in order to incorporate adjustments, where necessary. Linking Fordham's and Duke's points returns to questions of development through self-reliance but with the important addition of the organisational form through which that development can be monitored and evaluated and raises issues of political and organisational responsibilities.

Some Political and Economic Issues [in Distance Education]

Having political power places the responsibility for satisfying the demand for education on whoever holds power and it is to them that the nation looks for a solution to shortages of qualified labour. Distance education is seen as providing a possible solution to those shortages.

For the Caribbean area, Lalor and Marrett write:

The changed political scene consequent on the independence of most of the Caribbean countries and the general acceptance of the value of an educated population, ensures that education is now regarded as a "right". Increasingly it is understood that the region requires relatively large numbers of well trained people in its work force which now comprises less than one percent of graduates. Not only the young but many persons who missed opportunities earlier and those who require continuing education, form a pool which represents a very significant demand. But in the face of great need, funds are scarce and since traditional education grows ever more expensive distance teaching has become a possible alternative worth the closest examination. (Lalor and Marrett, 1986: 123)

Given this background of desire to meet an educational need in a developing country, distance teaching methods became a candidate for consideration in the Caribbean region at the tertiary level, encouraged by the availability of funding through United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and other development agencies.

At the present time, however, the question is being raised, by pressure groups in the United States, as to the effectiveness of bilateral and multi-lateral aid for development purposes. For example, the Washington based Development Group for Alternative Policies [Development GAP] questions the purpose of USAID to the Caribbean region when the main reason for that aid is to help projects that benefit the United States. (Gleaner, 17. 04. 93: 4).

The World Bank a few days later insists that alleviation of poverty must be built into as many lending projects as possible. (Guardian, 29.04.93:17). If such countries have to rely on bilateral and multi-lateral aid for their development programmes, then the problems of resolving conflicting interests between the needs of the donor countries and the recipient countries can be a source of conflict. Where the possibility of conflict of interests exists these need to be considered carefully and an awareness of the requirements of the aid package made public.

In some parts of the world, distance education was regarded as a way of assisting national development and in Kenya Gitau notes:

The school of Distance Studies used distance education because it promised to foster a sense of nationhood and promote national unity (Gitau, 1986: 59).

This was seen as a way of attracting favourable responses from the state in terms of resources, especially when there were many projects needing attention, all with an equal claim on government attention and resources.

Questions of national unity are mainly related to political issues within national boundaries. Whatever is on offer that promises to aid the process of unity is seized upon by political organisations and governments especially in the immediate post colonial situation where the question of political power and stability are uncertain. The uncertainties are due partly to the ideology of the contending forces for political power and partly due to the pressures brought on by population growth and heavy demands on the education system. The desire of politicians to have a nation united, especially in circumstances of government vulnerability, is not lost on the advocates of distance education, who have themselves to be politically astute to work successfully in a situation where a great deal is expected of education.

According to Coldevin and Naidu:

The immediate consequences of Third World population bulges in the under-15 age bracket on education have been strains on physical facilities, provision of curricular materials, and availability of trained teachers particularly in the rural areas where the majority of people reside. Faced with such requirements, which cannot be met through traditional means, many governments have had to either reduce the level of publicly supported education or try out innovative solutions. Many of the strategies have focussed on the problem of certificated teacher shortages stemming from the inability of conventional teachers' colleges to keep pace with demand. (Coldevin and Naidu, 1989 : 10).

This shows that there are pressures on the governments of some developing countries to satisfy what seems an insatiable appetite for education and this accounts for the readiness to embrace distance education either because of its potential to provide a solution within resource capabilities or because of the desire to be seen to deal with access to education.

Jenkins sees distance education, particularly in the Third World, as under pressure to make a major contribution to educational performance. She states:

This may be by improving access to education through attracting and catering for large numbers of students, or by providing a thrust in a new direction through introducing new curricula or new subjects. In the latter case this new thrust is likely to be linked with the predicted employment needs of the country, providing a trained work force for the rapidly changing job market. (Jenkins, 1989: 53).

A changing job market sometimes coincides with changing economic needs and this can be in both industrialised and developing economies. Calvert makes the point that:

In developing and industrialised countries distance education is expected to serve the goals of extending access to education and training to a wider populace and of establishing vehicles for continuous education and training to meet changing economic and technological conditions. (Calvert, 1990: 155).

The extension of access suggests larger audiences and possibly extension to

people who may not have access to the formal education system. These may be people who have left school in a state of illiteracy, ranging to others who would like to pursue courses of study in higher education but are unable to attend formal education institutions.

Calder also raises the question in the context of developing and developed countries that:

The developing world has seen it, [distance education] as a way of reaching mass audiences and geographically remote communities, while in the developed world it has been seen as an economic way of reaching members of groups who are dispersed through the community. (Calder, 1989: 9).

Calder also quotes Kaye (1988) on the latest estimate of the number of adults being reached world wide by distance education as twenty million, an indication that there is a big and probably expanding demand for education at a distance.

The range of possibilities further suggests that distance education is very flexible because it can be operated beneficially in rural as well as urban areas, and also because it can meet the needs of the unemployed as well as the employed. However, government support appears to be critical in the successful implementation of distance education programmes, especially if these programmes are large scale and if the possible benefits to rural areas are taken seriously.

This is the form of political leadership that Rumble regards as important in his comments that:

Experience shows the critical importance of political leadership in establishing large scale distance education institutions. The real issue at the present time is whether politicians wish to invest in distance education. The cost of establishing large scale distance education institutions is likely to be considerable and can act as a disincentive to politicians trying to balance expenditure across a wide diversity of educational and non-educational programmes (Rumble, 1986:61).

In funding the development of distance education, politicians would in some way be able to claim that they are meeting their political commitments and the evident educational needs of their people.

Sometimes it is recognised that initial cost may be high and even prohibitive and a degree of improvisation is then required in order that the service can be launched. The degree of improvisation required to make a system operable may even determine the length of time it is able to operate and how it is defined.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined some of the literature on distance education relevant to this study. The areas covered are political and economic, and theories of distance education and development are also examined. These areas are of prime concern because the rationale for the development of distance education in developing countries often states that it will aid economic and industrial development and even assist, in one case cited, in forging national unity.

Each theory of distance education examined contains within it elements of relevance to developing countries, without any single theory being sufficiently comprehensive to render it completely applicable to the whole study. However the theories examined enable a broad range of views of distance education and development to be analysed, taking into consideration the ideological similarities and the rhetorical dis-similarities of the two political organisations that have been responsible for the whole of Jamaica's post independence development.

A theory posing immediate problems for and understanding of the development of distance education in developing countries is the industrialisation theory.

If, for example, distance education is a product of industrial development then it develops after industrialisation and its application in a non-industrialised situation needs to be addressed because there would be a mismatch between the product and the situation in which it is applied. Yet distance education is seen as a way of reaching mass audiences in these non-industrial countries for the purposes of educating the population, as a prerequisite for educational and economic development.

What the literature indicates is that distance education, as well as serving a

variety of different purposes, for example, teacher upgrading, literacy, or professional training, also employs a variety of teaching approaches which are not covered by any one theory.

The attempts at constructing a theory for distance education are handicapped by the fact that distance education practice precedes, for some considerable period, the development of theories. In addition, distance education has been developing rapidly during the last thirty years for a variety of vastly different reasons and in societies that are also vastly different. These differences have their effect on distance education theories.

'Development' as a concept also provides us with some difficulties in terms of understanding what constitutes development. Initially 'development' appeared to refer to economic and industrial development and it was for this kind of development that distance education was seen as particularly relevant. In this chapter Penalver is cited as putting great emphasis on this relationship, but the question of whether industrial and economic development takes place as a result of education or whether the industrial base and the wealth it generates, makes distance education possible has not been resolved. There appears to be a case for arguing that not only distance education but all education develops simultaneously with economic, social and industrial development, all these factors complementing one another in the process of that development.

Attempting to get an understanding of what constitutes development for any particular state raises the question of priorities which are at times linked to ideology and opportunism. The establishment of distance education, its expansion and contraction in developing countries, has a tendency to emerge during periods of radicalism and resource availability. This often takes place during immediate post-independence periods, when there is a tendency to expand education facilities to provide literacy courses, forms of adult education and even free higher education. Thought out policies guided by discussions or research have not appeared as significant factors in deciding what kinds of development are or are not desirable. There is the belief that the more people become educated the more empowered they will be and the more likely they will be to adhere to that ideology which provides the basis for their empowerment.

Things don't always work out that way, for either governments or people. The more independent people become, the less they appear to conform. The behaviour of distance education students in higher education is primarily about satisfying their own present and perceived future needs and attaining their own goals. Where the attainment of these goals conflicts with the ideology of the government it is the personal goal that tends to get priority.

In many developing countries, then, distance education is seen as a way of reaching large audiences economically, helping to relieve the pressure on formal education, to meet the need for adequately trained teachers and other personnel, and to do this at manageable cost.

The literature review has shown that distance education and development are complex issues that have attracted an array of concentrated attention from politicians and academics over a considerable period of time, especially in the post colonial period. It does not provide answers about the role of distance education in development but gives an indication of how they may be linked in theoretical and political terms in developing countries and how they may be viewed. The literature review has been able to lay the basis for an understanding of government response to distance education and an understanding of the difficulties encountered in developing and in maintaining distance education systems. This study will look more closely at the practical approaches to distance education after the methodological approach has been described.

Chapter 3 - Methodology

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and explain the research approach, design, data source and collection, field procedure, methods of analysis, and the research methods in addressing the research questions.

In addressing the issue of development in a developing country, and the contribution of distance education, a qualitative approach was considered appropriate because the objective was to conduct an in depth study of the situation that exists in Jamaica. Qualitative approaches are appropriate when the objective of the study is to look at a situation in depth and detail. (Walker, 1985; Berg, 1989).

The intention was to conduct a study of three distance education programmes in Jamaica. They are the Ministry of Education Teacher Upgrading Programme, the University of the West Indies Distance Teaching Experiment (UWIDITE) and the Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy, (JAMAL). From this study is expected to emerge an understanding of how distance education is used to contribute to Jamaica's development through teacher upgrading, professional and undergraduate studies and literacy training.

The first approach at understanding the existing situation in Jamaica in relation to distance education was somewhat eclectic. It seemed the best way of approaching a situation in which literature on distance education in Jamaica was scarce. This approach made it possible to collect new data on an area about which little published information is available.

From the outset it was decided to conduct a qualitative study because what the researcher was looking for was a range of explanations of the way distance education worked, the way people felt about it and some of the contributions it is making to people's lives.

The growth in importance of qualitative approaches has been assisted by the work of a number of researchers who were concerned about the limits of quantitative research methods. Important contributions to this debate came from Mc Donald and Walker (1975), Parlett and Hamilton (1977), Walker, (1980) whose attention was focused particularly on evaluation.

The realisation that not all knowledge and experience can be quantified (Walker 1985, Strauss, 1987) has helped to demonstrate the importance of qualitative methods of research.

According to Vulliamy:

Qualitative research strategies have considerable potential for contributing to educational theory, policy and practice in developing countries. They are particularly suited to the study of the process of schooling and to the evaluation of innovations, where divergences between policy and practice can be highlighted through a sensitivity to unintended, as well as intended, outcomes of innovation. (Vulliamy, 1990: 25)

Crossley and Vulliamy have also:

acknowledged the capacity of the individual to interpret social events and to attribute personal meanings to the world in which they function. (Crossley and Vulliamy, 1984: 194).

It is an approach which has become a positive and legitimate way of studying. The qualitative nature of the data enables the phenomenon to be studied in its natural setting. That naturalistic research must be conducted in a social context has become one of the main standpoints of the:

grounded theory, which has offered a systematic approach for generating substantive theories that were born in and helped explain the real world. (Hutchinson, 1988: 124)

The role of social scientists is important in showing how gains can be made from naturalistic research and as that role becomes more important and gains in influence they should, as Bulmer argues:

try to respect the nature of the empirical world and organise a methodological instance to reflect that respect. (Bulmer, 1969: 60)

This allows a holistic approach in which the researcher is the main instrument of data collection. This particular qualitative approach is what Filstead describes as:

those research strategies such as ... in-depth interviewing, total participation in activity being investigated, fieldwork etc.. which allow the researcher to obtain first hand knowledge of the empirical social world in question. (Filstead, 1970: 6)

This study had to find an effective way of proceeding, in order to get a realistic picture of the situation in Jamaica, in which distance education was expected to benefit its recipients and the society that provides the resources for its development and in which it functions.

Case Study Method.

The Case Study Method often employs a qualitative approach which is being used increasingly as a method of investigation in educational research and evaluation. Sharma describes case study method as:

more or less a technique or an approach which views any social unit as a whole and includes the development of that unit. This method elicits data in terms of some chosen unit and seeks information in respect of processes which for the most part cannot be situated numerically. It examines style, situation of person or institution as a complex whole and makes use of personal documents probing many facts of the respondent's life, sharing experiences with the individuals, etc. (Sharma, 1983: 169)

This definition does not suggest any particular technique or approach. It therefore seems reasonable to assume that any suitable approach may be adopted, expressed by Morgan as:

... a wide range of methods, indeed, any technique, which seems appropriate to the research questions, including interviews, observations, life histories, the study of official documents, and possibly some use of questionnaires. (Morgan, 1991: 32)

According to Platt:

Case material can not only present the subjective meanings of the subject, but can also give holistic accounts of events or life-patterns which show social supports and constraints, help understanding of how one event is linked to another in a strange setting and generally give the context of the particular topic. [Obviously the material chosen can be misleading and empathy may sometimes have drawbacks, especially when it leads to sympathy]. (Platt, 1988: 6)

A feature of the literature that is critical of case studies is that the findings are not generalisable. Platt answers these criticisms by pointing out that:

there can be legitimate interest in particularisation [especially, though not only] among practitioners responsible for policy in particular cases. (Platt, 1988: 9-11).

Therefore each case is unique which makes the case study adaptable to different situations. It has functions that are holistic and naturalistic and capable of giving insight into changing and complex social behaviour.

In adopting a 'wide range of methods' problems may develop about the boundaries of the study and sometimes arbitrary decisions have to be made about those boundaries. These need to be clearly stated so that the reader knows the boundaries within which the writer is operating.

Stake suggests that the case need not be a person or enterprise:

It can be whatever 'bounded system' is of interest. An institution, a programme, a responsibility, a collection, or a population can be the case. (Stake, 1980: 71)

'Population' in normal parlance refers to the subjects inhabiting an area. Thus it could be the population of a district, town, country or colony or all students taking a particular course and is different from a survey, which tends to be large scale.

According to Burgess a case study is:

a study distinguished by its limited scope from large scale survey work. At the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) a case study is quite likely to be of an entire country or more accurately of a feature of the country such as the education system. (Burgess, 1988: 61).

The Jamaican Context

In Jamaica many people are involved in trying to make some contributions to raising the standard of literacy, and some are also attempting to expand access to higher education with what they regard as inadequate resources in order to produce the trained people, it is argued, the country needs.

These people have feelings and opinions about their contributions, their effects on the society and on the people with whom they work. They also have values and opinions to express about the way in which their work is assisted or hindered by the political and economic situation and processes and by other factors. They are aware of criticisms and responsibilities and take those on board when determining their attitude to their work, be it paid or voluntary work. A case study approach will be able to assess and

interpret the relationship between those who work and those who learn and between those two groups of people and the society as a whole.

In qualitative research, which is the type of study being undertaken, Vulliamy suggests that the aim:

is to 'get inside' the perspectives of the respondents and to generate hypotheses from such perspectives. Consequently the early stages of case study are spent identifying which are the most important questions to ask respondents. (Vulliamy, 1990: 100)

Qualitative research, unlike quantitative research does not have fixed measures. However quantitative results often need qualitative methods of explanation. A fixed measure, being exactly what it says, may not change under the conditions in which those measures were taken. However human behaviour is determined by events and interaction and other factors which are outside the control of that human being or his/her immediate environment and is therefore subject to continuous change and moods.

An example would be that the living conditions acceptable a decade or two ago may not be as acceptable now, but the change that has occurred may have taken place in minute quantities over a period of time. Some of those changes may be understood in terms of questions being asked or discussions being held, especially after a time lapse, and producing different answers, not because the question is irrelevant or different but because the situation in which the question is being asked now is different from the situation in which it was asked the first time. This is the kind of situation in which interpretative power of qualitative research can explain the developments that have taken place and the reason for the developments.

This case study of Jamaica examines three distance teaching organisations as contributors to the case. Data is therefore collected from these organisations for an analysis and an understanding of their contribution to Jamaica's development.

Data Source and Collection Methods

Different methods and different people were involved during the data collection period. The data collection for the whole study was divided into two stages. An Exploratory Pilot Stage and a Main Stage. During the exploratory pilot stage three data collection methods were used :

1. Documentary reviews.

2. Interviews, with students, managers and tutors

3. Participant observation

During the main stage two data collection methods were used :

1. Documentary reviews .

2. Interviews, with teachers, politicians, lecturers, managers.

Data collection was from documentary sources and by interviews from: individuals at the Ministry of Education, University of the West Indies, the Radio Education Unit, and the Jamaica Movement for the Advancement of Literacy, from politicians who had some input into distance education, from the Creative Production and Training Centre (CPTC), from the Caribbean Child Development Centre (CCDC). The data was collected from these sources as and when it was possible to do so, with interviews taking priority over documentary reviews because it was possible to return to documentary reviews if an interview did not take place.

At times during the data collection process I relied on "snowballing": that is, the individuals interviewed were reached partly through recommendations which I followed up as much as was possible. Because there was a limit on the time I was able to spend in Jamaica, I was unable to follow up successfully, for interviews, all the people that were recommended as sources of data.

A combination of an interview guide, tape recorder, documentary searches and the interviewer were used to collect the interview data from all the relevant sources. In the process of the pilot it was found that although the interests of all three groups, the Ministry of Education, UWIDITE and JAMAL were not identical, they had common approaches. This was reflected in the way the interview guide was used.

The Ministry of Education's particular interest was in the upgrading of primary and basic school teacher qualifications and competence. UWIDITE has a regional brief and its teacher education perspectives are based on the

upgrading of specialist teachers as well as other educational functions throughout the Caribbean region. JAMAL's interest is in literacy.

The Radio Education Unit (REU) is a part of the University of the West Indies, and a source of valuable information. Getting information about the REU and about its past and present functions is impossible without a visit to the University. One could in fact visit the University without being aware of the existence of the REU and the richness of its resources and contribution to Caribbean life, because there is as yet no publication in the Caribbean detailing its work.

Documentary Review

According to Vulliamy:

Extracts from documents can be a valuable source of field-notes ... and can be useful both in terms of providing an historical account of choice ... (and) library searches, follow-up documents, confidential and limited circulation documents can be a valuable source of contextual information. (Vulliamy, 1990: 91, 108,141)

There was a need to collect documentary evidence in spite of the difficulties in obtaining documents. Stephens makes the point that:

a guiding principle of collecting documentary data was to question the validity of evidence. (Stephens, 1990: 155)

One reason for documentary evidence in this study was for use in validating the interview data, which was the only other part of the data collection method in the main study.

Obtaining local documents for review can be a very frustrating experience in developing countries where secondary source material may be in short supply. The library at the University of the West Indies, World Bank and Commonwealth of Learning reports provided the starting point for documentary reviews.

Uses were made of other documentary sources, such as the local newspaper, JAMAL publications, reports and Ministry of Education papers for the purposes of interview data validation and information. Sewart makes the point that:

secondary data are available from a variety of sources and in a variety of forms although the single most useful source is the library. (Sewart, 1984: 15)

Documentary review was a somewhat frustrating experience. Documents and papers on distance education in Jamaica are few. Documents are available explaining the functions of UWIDITE. They mainly explain its purpose but do not discuss theoretical and conceptual issues of distance education or highlight practical problems or give particular insights in the establishment and operation of distance education, except in a very small way within the Education Faculty of the University.

The problem here is not surprising, however, since as an organisation UWIDITE does not employ people in a full time capacity as teachers, lecturers or researchers. A basis for meeting to discuss distance education as a group of distance education workers is not yet established. Recently documents in the form of reports, detailing possible future developments and trends in distance education in Jamaica and the Caribbean region as a whole, have begun to appear. (Haag and O'Rourke, 1991, Greig, J. 1989) These are documents produced from persons invited to do so and who are external to UWIDITE.

The situation with JAMAL is different in that it produces a whole range of course materials that are specific to JAMAL. This course material is based on the national environment and the local surroundings of the students, practical aspects of Jamaican life, and is explicitly responsive and sensitive to government directive, desires and pressures. JAMAL would also claim that its literature is produced with much sensitivity to students' needs but without much consideration of theory.

It may be that theoretical problems and theory building are not part of the immediate priorities for distance teaching organisations, but that the main priority is providing the skills that the society demands without asking too much about the nature of those skills or of measuring how effective the organisations are in providing them.

Fieldwork

It was decided to conduct the study in two stages because the time available was restricted and the distance from my base was considerable and containment of the study within a small budget was essential.

There were two stages to this fieldwork.

1. The exploratory/pilot study;

2. The main study.

The exploratory/pilot study was conducted over a period of six weeks in Jamaica between April and May, 1991 and the main study was done in Jamaica over a period of twelve weeks from March to May, 1992. .

The Interview Guide-for the Exploratory/Pilot Study

Interview as a research tool is a way of getting information. It is defined by Cannel and Kahn (1968) as conversation between two persons with the initiative coming from the interviewer for the purpose of obtaining relevant research information.

This study uses in-depth interviewing which Cohen and Manion describe as:

a two person conversation initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research relevant information (Cohen and Manion, 1980:295).

This can be of value to the individual researcher in interpreting social events and political developments.

The interview guide (Appendix D) for the exploratory/pilot study was derived from the literature I had become acquainted with, from my limited knowledge of Jamaica in 1991 and from my discussions with individuals who had experience in the design of interview guides. The guide-lines were designed to find out whether literacy students, teachers and managers at JAMAL and students at UWIDITE involved in distance education had set themselves any specific development goals or whether it was just a question of offering and taking up educational opportunities as goals in their own right. There was also an interest in whether the literature and courses were produced and designed to achieve specific goals and, if so, the nature of those goals.

As it turned out, the interview guide-lines were in need of some improvement and alteration. Few questions were asked of UWIDITE students and some of the questions, for example, those relating to medical

education were not in answerable forms by the students interviewed. That left even fewer questions that could be asked about JAMAL, insufficient to collect enough worthwhile primary material for the study. The small number of higher education students available for interview were also unable to deal with some of the issues raised because they had not previously considered those issues. JAMAL students found some of the questions incomprehensible. In addition the interview guide did not consider issues relating to the Teacher Upgrading Programme as nothing was known about this organisation prior to my arrival in Jamaica.

A great deal of flexibility was therefore needed in the use of the interview guide. Because of this flexibility it was possible for me to get insights into some attitudes and involvements in the education of both the teachers and the students. This was particularly applicable at interviews where JAMAL was concerned.

The Exploratory Interviews

The pilot was necessary for this study because little was known about the practice of distance education in Jamaica, and about where it was possible to get the most useful information, necessary to answer the research questions. The interview guide for the pilot study was aimed at students and teachers and education administrators. The first point of contact with potential interviewees was at UWIDITE on the campus of the University of the West Indies (UWI). At the UWIDITE building I also gathered as much information, verbally, as I could about the people who are involved in distance education and ways of contacting them for interviews. The interviews were recorded using a small tape recorder and each interviewee was informed of the purpose of the interview and given an undertaking of confidentiality.

My first contact with interviewees began soon after arriving at UWIDITE and as I went along I made more requests for the names and location of involved and interested parties, including students involved in distance study, and in that way built up a list of names of people who I sought to interview. Some of the people with whom I was put in contact were people to whom I had written. Their names were selected from a list of people who attended a Distance Education Conference in Jamaica organised jointly by the Commonwealth of Learning and the University of the West Indies, in July 1990. This approach was adopted because it appeared to be the most

convenient at the time and the most appropriate way of contacting distance education participants for interview purposes, before I actually commenced the journey to Jamaica.

My first interview took place at the UWIDITE building followed by interviews and appointments for interviews in many faculties of the University of the West Indies mainly in Social Science and Education. Altogether ten people who have contact with UWIDITE were interviewed. Lecturers were easily located, more readily available and an important source of information as opposed to students who were difficult to find. Four UWIDITE students and six lecturers were interviewed and all the interviews were recorded using a tape recorder.

Contacting people at JAMAL and conducting interviews followed a similar pattern to that at the University. I met the Public Relations Officer of JAMAL two days after arriving in Jamaica, and after a brief discussion, made an appointment for an interview and obtained the names and the location of JAMAL personnel at one centre in Kingston, where it would be possible to conduct interviews.

My first interview with JAMAL personnel took place in one of their Kingston education centres but from there I managed to establish what the options were in terms of the number of students and staff that could be interviewed and the location of other centres in Kingston. Later information was obtained from the head office confirming the location of the centres in Kingston and St. Andrew and about the centres in rural areas .

After my initial contacts with the staff at JAMAL's head office I went to the Ministry of Education, to introduce myself and to inform the only person there with whom I had contact prior to my arrival. It was a fortunate situation in that I arrived early and was able to conduct an interview that day. That interview was followed by one other at the Ministry at a later date.

During the six weeks forty (40) people were interviewed altogether including twenty literacy students with whom short interviews were conducted. The large number of literacy students interviewed was possible because they were located in three centres, and because the interviews were short. The table below shows the total and gender composition of the interviewees.

Interviewing UWIDITE students was somewhat problematic. The interests of the four students interviewed were mainly focused on 'getting on with it', learning at a distance and taking up their automatic places as second year students at the University at whatever campus they were destined to be, Cave Hill in Barbados; Mona in Jamaica; or St. Augustine in Trinidad, if they were successful in their exams. These students were reluctantly critical, particularly about interactive course material and tutor student interaction, but were pleased that they had the opportunity to study for a degree. Follow-up interviews could not be guaranteed in the following year because these students may be studying away from Jamaica.

Institutions , Gender and Status of Interviewees

Table: 3. 1

Institutions	<u>Staff</u>		<u>Students</u>		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
UWIDITE	2	4	-	4	10
JAMAL	2	5	12	8	27
Min. of Ed	-	3	-	-	3
Total	4	12	12	12	40

During this part of the study a small but significant period was given to analysing the data with particular emphasis on the data collected from the JAMAL literacy students. The background noise contained in the tape recording made analysis very difficult verging on the impossible. Verbal communication also presented problems because of the noise and misunderstandings of word usage. However there were two emerging strands that could be discerned from this data.

1. The repetitive nature of the data collected from the literacy students.
2. The main interest of the literacy students was in the church. The churches provide some of the accommodation in which the students were interviewed, and in which they are taught.

The table below illustrates the replies to a question put to literacy students:

What does learning to read mean for you?

In the table 'minister' means 'preacher in the church'

Interview with Literacy Students

Table 3:2

	Male	Female	Total
Can read the Bible	3	5	8
Become a preacher	7	0	7
Enjoy myself	1	2	3
Write letters and read	1	1	2
Total	12	8	20

Because of the repetitive nature of the data it was decided not to pursue this line of data collection, because the data from the students, [both UWIDITE and JAMAL] were not providing additional information.

The possibility of obtaining a purposive sample from the UWIDITE students receded with time, because of the small numbers involved, and because interviews for the the main study could not be guaranteed in the following year because of uncertainty of students' location. It was therefore decided to exclude students, both JAMAL and UWIDITE, from interviews for the main study. It was felt that this would place limitations on the main study but in the circumstances nothing would be gained if the interviews were continued.

This presented me with some problems about how to conduct the main study but fortunately a number of interviews had already taken place with JAMAL employees and a return to the contents of those interviews enabled me to decide that the study could continue with additional interviews with JAMAL and UWIDITE teachers and administrators and officials at the Ministry of Education.

The interviews with staff at JAMAL, UWIDITE and the Ministry of Education confirmed that there was a significant body of opinion on distance education containing similarities and differences which were related to the interviewees and their positions in the different organisations represented. All the interviews were tape-recorded with one exception, when notes were taken at the interviewee's request. Apart from this one case, I encountered no objections to my use of the tape recorder. This was

encouraging and I decided to concentrate on the use of the tape recorder for the main study interviews.

The benefits from the use of a tape recorder were also confirmed. Two advantages were immediately apparent. 1. The interviewer could give nearly undivided attention to the process of interviewing. 2. The recording could be played back several times to pick out information regarded as relevant. One enjoyable and useful feature of this was that a number of descriptions using words peculiar to Jamaica and Jamaicans, and which the researcher could not immediately identify, could be re-played and the meaning verified.

Interviews for the Main Study

Interviewees for the main study were selected from university teachers who have a particular interest, or relationship with UWIDITE, from JAMAL teachers and from teachers and administrators who were involved in the teacher up-grading programmes. The administrators were based at the Ministry of Education and JAMAL's offices. The decision to proceed in this way was influenced by the results from the pilot study when it became apparent that the study could not rely on students for appropriate data in the time allocated.

The interviews were open ended and semi-structured allowing for a reasonable degree of flexibility which was required for the range of interviewees from different organisations. (Walker, (1985) and Keegan, (1986), see this more precisely as the flexible-module interviewing technique.

Based on the number of people interviewed during the exploratory/pilot study it was decided that a sample of forty semi-structured in-depth interviews could be achieved during a period of three months, which was the time allocated for the main study interviews, and would constitute a purposive sample of the informed opinion on distance education and development in Jamaica. However as the interviews progressed it became evident that one hundred per cent of the sample would not be achieved due to delays in some of the interviews taking place, some cancellations and the length of travel time involved in getting to some of the interviews.

As in the exploratory/pilot study, at the start of each interview for the main study a brief explanation and information was given about where I was from and the purpose of the study. The usual undertaking was also given that confidentiality would be safeguarded. As part of the formalities and background information, interviewees were asked about themselves, their name, their age, marital status, and work.

All the interviews for the main study were recorded. In one case there was a request that a tape be not used. My attempt to take notes in this one case was unproductive as an overwhelming number of the points I raised were not dealt with. I was redirected to other personnel in the institution, most of whom were represented in the interviews I had already conducted. That interview was abandoned.

In order to allow free-flowing comments the interviewer restricted interruption to a minimum. The intention was to get the interviewee to do most of the talking with the interviewer intervening only for probing and for clarification that was needed immediately. However points of clarity and probing were not frequently requested. This may be due to the capability of the interviewees, many of whom were academics and probably quite used to being interviewed.

During the process of conducting interviews and at some social events three organisations with interest in distance education were brought to my attention. These organisations are the Creative Production and Training Centre (CPTC), the Caribbean Child Development Centre (CCDC) and the Radio Education Unit (REU).

Although these organisations have some connections with the Ministry of Education and UWIDITE, they operate as separate organisations with their own development goals and objectives. Interviews were conducted with individuals in these organisations because it broadened the base from which information was collected about distance education and also because it enabled the researcher to tap into the expertise and perspectives of individuals involved in distance education and training, of the type that was being studied, who were not part of the UWIDITE or JAMAL organisations but who were associated with their work and practices.

The CPTC is a relatively new organisation, established in 1978 to train the media technicians, skilled television and radio reporters, materials

production experts, and to produce education materials for use by other bodies for which it charges a fee. It is also involved in producing education materials for its own use and has a close working relationship with the Ministry of Education.

The CCDC is an organisation involved in the study of child development in the Caribbean, especially in the role of fathers in child development. It seeks to find and document the role of fathers in the Caribbean in the physical, educational and emotional development of their children and to disseminate examples of good practice throughout the region. Although attached to the University of the West Indies, it operates autonomously, raises a large amount of its own funds, has a kindergarten, and uses the UWIDITE facilities, for which it pays. It disseminates information on a Caribbean-wide basis.

The REU was established at the same time as the University of the West Indies in the 1950's and was the original organisation through which distance education was delivered in Jamaica, particularly to people in the rural areas. It continues to perform that function but has been overshadowed by the new technology at UWIDITE.

The following table gives the organisations and status of the individuals interviewed.

Status and Organisations of the Interviewees

Table 3.3

Interview Groups Institutions						
	Admin Officers	Lecturers	Teachers	Politicians	Managers	Totals
UWIDITE	2	8				10
JAMAL	4		6			10
Ministry of Education	3				2	5
CPTC					1	1
CCDC	1					1
REU					1	1
Parliament				2		2
Total	10	8	6	2	4	30

UWIDITE: University of the West Indies Distance Teaching Experiment

JAMAL: Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy

CPTC: Creative Production and Training Centre

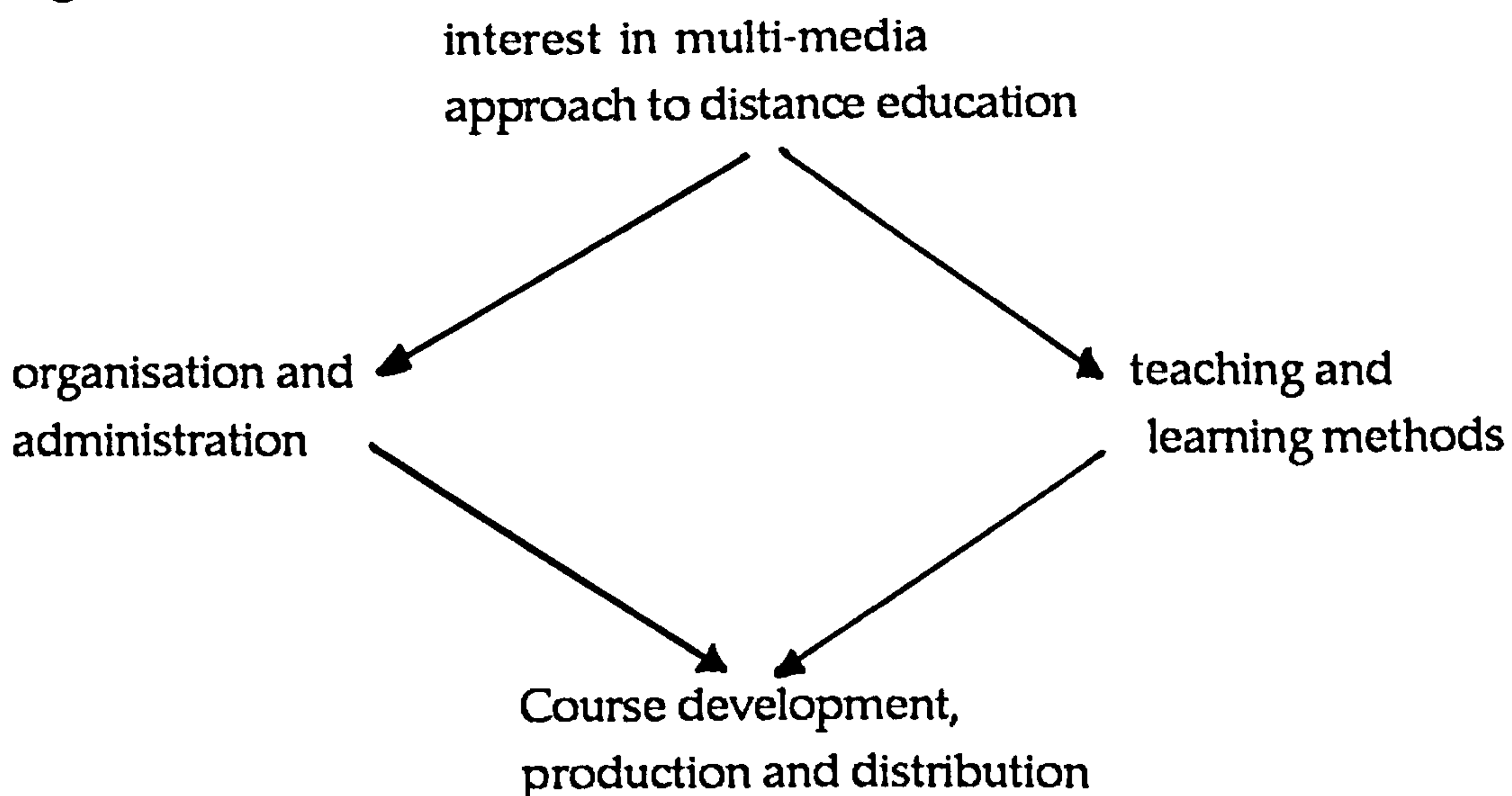
CCDC: Caribbean Child Development Centre

REU: Radio Education Unit.

All the organisations have common objectives and features illustrated in the figure below.

Features of Distance Education in Jamaica:

Fig: 3. 1



In collecting interview data for the main study a relaxed and friendly atmosphere was very quickly established with a number of interviewees, two of whom asked me, after the interviews, to replay part of the tape so that they could listen to it for content but also to listen to their voices. Where that situation occurred it also provided the opportunity for corrections to be made where desired. My relationship with a number of the University staff was good to the extent that they were people to whom I could express my concerns about areas in which I travelled, collected evidence and personal fears, confident in the knowledge that, where necessary, I would get support if needed.

The interviews were open-ended but at the same time focused on the particular concerns of the researcher, (Bogdan, 1982). The questions asked were influenced by the purpose of the research. Kerlinger points out that:

although the research purpose governs the questions asked, their continuity, sequence and their ordering are entirely in the hands of the interviewer. (Kerlinger, 1969 469)

In this study the interviewer had the responsibility of ordering the questions in their written form but the questions were used as guides and

the interviewee would sometimes influence the way and the order in which the questions were asked.

In all cases, except one, the interviewees were welcoming and were very easily relaxed. Some of them had the air of old friends willing to help. That aspect of my work was made easy. The atmosphere was much more relaxed than during the exploratory/pilot stage which suggests that I may have been much more relaxed myself because I had become known to the people I was dealing with and was probably more confident.

Interviews took place in various parts of Jamaica and people everywhere were interested in my becoming involved when there was any social or intellectual activity. I was therefore invited to people's homes and to many social and intellectual events that were taking place, if the interviewees were involved or if they had knowledge of an event they believed would be of interest to me and from which I would benefit by participation.

One event in which I participated was the UNESCO sponsored conference on, Educational Policies and Plans for the Caribbean, held over a period of three days, from March 17-19, 1992, where I met a number of academics and education administrators from the whole of the Caribbean region. I used the opportunity to discuss with as many of the delegates as possible, from outside Jamaica, the topics of educational development and needs in their country and the nature of Caribbean cooperation on educational issues.

Choosing to discuss with education professionals from outside Jamaica during the conference period was deliberate because I felt that apart from getting valuable information about the educational development and concerns of the region, I would also be able to make links with the situation in Jamaica and get a focus on the educational interdependence of the region which should provide for better understanding in my study.

Difficulties Encountered During the Main Study

Difficulties encountered during the main study interviews relate mainly to two things:

1. The distance travelled to conduct interviews, although in close proximity by European standards, took considerable time to complete due to the road conditions and sometimes because of floods.

2. The unavailability of telephone facilities meant that contact with some potential interviewees sometimes required several journeys before initial contact was made.

Reliability and Validity.

The questions of reliability and validity are key concerns of any research. Guba and Lincoln suggest that auditability and credibility ought to be substituted for these terms. They suggest four methods for establishing credibility:

1. Host verification or 'member checks'.
2. Triangulation and corroboration.
3. Independent observer analysis.
4. Phenomenon recognition. (Guba and Lincoln, 1989: 185-186).

1. "Host verification or member checks" involve checking the experiences the researcher has had against the experiences and understanding of the group being studied. This may be accomplished by using selected "facts" and involving several members of the group being studied or by using the major propositions of the inquiry, along with all or nearly all the members.

2. Triangulation and corroboration involve checking propositions either with other members or with other methodological tools and measures and involve a similar approach to host verification.

3. Independent and observer analysis involve asking and testing whether another independent observer would have seen or heard the same thing, events, or persons as the first observer did and whether, having done so, conceptual discoveries would have been made that empirically or logically would validate the researcher's own conclusions.

4. Phenomenon recognition involves presenting the enquirer's 'reality' to those who live that reality and asking them whether it does represent their common and shared experience. Clearly all the various methods of establishing reliability and validity are not possible or even applicable or necessary in any single study.

Triangulation can be regarded as a way of combining methods for understanding reality but this "limited" view has been superseded by Denzin (1971) who has identified four forms of triangulation which are:

1. 'Data' triangulation
2. 'Investigator' triangulation
3. 'Theory' triangulation
4. 'Methodological' triangulation.

This range of triangulation also suggests that all forms are unlikely to be needed at the same time and for the same study. Methodological triangulation suggests that in order to enhance the validity of data the same method can be used on different data and on different occasions and different methods can be used on the same sample.

A most practical way of achieving validity in interviews is to avoid bias as much as possible. To avoid bias, it could be argued, one would need to place oneself altogether outside the scope of society's influence. Clearly this is impossible. Therefore one needs to focus on obtainable objectives in order to minimise bias.

Alexander makes this point about validity in qualitative evaluation:

The objectives of qualitative evaluation are to do with the search for meanings, understandings and insights into social processes such as Non-Formal Education and its relationships with development. Validity in qualitative evaluation may be more important than reliability. (Alexander, 1989: 72)

Cohen and Manion found that bias can come from three different sources, the characteristics of the interviewer, by attitudes and opinions and by tendencies to seek answers which support his or her own ideas. Many researchers have suggested ways of reducing the effect of bias by training the interviewer to be aware of possible bias and by careful development of all questions or guides. (Cannell and Khan, 1968; Kerlinger, 1969; Cohen and Manion, 1980).

Since it isn't always possible to be constantly aware of one's own bias, an effort should be made to establish the kind of atmosphere where everyone feels at ease so that rapport can develop to the extent that the interviewer's opinions if offered, can be challenged. The statement of an awareness of one's own bias may not be sufficient to deal with any problems that might develop in relation to validity. It may then be useful to find a framework in which to establish validity and reliability, stating what that framework is and leave it to the reader to judge the extent to which any bias has occurred.

The main study was conducted using similar interview guides with UWIDITE, Teacher Upgrading or JAMAL appropriately inserted for the particular organisation and supplemented by documentary evidence. The interview guides were influenced by the findings from the pilot study and the diversity of the groups to be interviewed, who were all involved in distance education in different ways, in different capacities and at different levels. Cross checking of data between interviews and with the documentary evidence would enhance the reliability of the study.

Debates about different kinds of research approaches and methods of evaluation are useful in that they facilitate the development of theory and sharpen one's awareness of the inadequacies of particular approaches, usually culminating in the use of more than one approach in the collection and analysis of data. Qualitative and quantitative methods can be and are sometimes used to complement each other.

Triangulation as a way of dealing with reliability and validity has, however, been developed and refined from its original stages when it was used particularly in science and will be of particular significance in relation to the fieldwork data.

Data Analysis

Using official records, which were valuable in capturing attitudes, values and commitments on a number of issues and questions, was intended during the fieldwork period for cross-checking with interview data. Undertaking a qualitative study suggests a qualitative analysis. However the data can be analysed using a mixture of qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Fitz-Gibbon makes this point about qualitative and quantitative data:

Both kinds of data are usually needed in a complete evaluation and each supports and is complementary to the other. Qualitative data are often transformed into quantitative data by coding procedures. For example, attitudes might be expressed in a variety of ways in a series of interviews but they could probably be classified on a five point scale ranging from strongly negative to strongly positive. Once quantified in this way, by being expressed as categories, the powerful techniques of quantitative analysis can be employed to search for relationships as well as to summarise the pattern of data. When quantitative

relationships are found they often need the illumination of qualitative description and case studies to help us understand how the relationship may have arisen and what they mean. (Fitz-Gibbon 1989).

Methodologically I have been unable to locate comparable studies as a model for the present one and therefore a method incorporating Bertaux's approach which uses the concept of saturation appears an appropriate way to proceed in the analysis of the data. Bertaux argues that:

When the interviews bring again and again the same elements of a recognisable pattern, when subsequent interviews with new persons confirm its presence in *every* life, then the pattern may be considered not merely fantasy of the researcher [in social scientific language - mere hypothesis] but a structuring feature of the actual process. (Bertaux, 1982: 134)

Finding time and space for any kind of analysis during the fieldwork period was extremely difficult and was the cause of some anxiety. Out of the twelve weekends that were available for the main study fieldwork, six were partly used for making a limited amount of content analysis which involved breaking down a small amount of the interview data to see if any patterns were emerging. At this point answers were not being sought. Kerlinger suggests that analysis:

is the ordering, the breaking down of data into constituent parts in order to obtain answers to research questions. (Kerlinger, 1969: 63)

The question of obtaining answers to research questions was not what was being considered with any intensity at this time. However what was emerging in the form of answers was the difference in the way respondents dealt with the interviews. These differences seemed to occur mainly on the basis of the occupation of the respondents and also their position in the hierarchy of the institution in which they worked. Some of the respondents' views were ideologically constructed but in such a way as to indicate that there were benefits to be gained from distance education and that there was room for improvement given different ideological approaches and the provision of sufficient money.

The interviews were analysed for the qualitative significance of the data, but where quantitative data assisted in the analysis and interpretation of the data, it has been incorporated. The idea then was to draw into the analysis

the data collected from interviews and documentary searches in order to explore each research question. (Lewin, 1990: 139-40).

On returning from Jamaica the data analysis started with listening to the tapes on which the interviews were recorded and a brief glance at some of the documents and reports to familiarise myself with the contents, followed by making some notes relating to methodology and data flow as well as content. One of the benefits of listening to the tapes was that it took me back into the situation in which the interview occurred and I was sometimes reminded of particular events that could be incorporated into the analysis. Where a point was missed or not fully understood the tapes could be re-played.

This was followed by coding of the thirty tapes. Three digits were written on each tape starting with 001. Some tapes were selected to be fully transcribed on the basis of who the interviewee was and by the amount of complementary or contrasting data that emerged. After the selected tapes were fully transcribed, the contents were divided into categories and colour coded. The remaining tapes were then transcribed, some fully and some partially. These transcriptions were then examined and relevant categories identified relating to the selections made on the fully transcribed tapes on the basis of similarities, dissimilarities and what I thought of as areas that may be interesting.

This examination of the data helped with the identification of relevant points for making connections and comparisons, identifying similarities and differences. Because follow up questions and probes were different, comparisons and connections were difficult. Where extreme difficulties occurred it was possible to return to the tapes that were not fully transcribed for additional information.

In the case of the interviews, the interviewees came from different academic disciplines and groups. The interview guides, although similar, were applied to different organisations and the data collected did not lend itself to being summarised in a statistical form. In that case there was a minimisation of the need for quantification of the data. (Burgess, 1988; Berg, 1989).

In this thesis there are practical, philosophical and ideological questions that qualify for analysis. There is the question of explaining human behaviour

and social experience which involves philosophical and ideological values that relate to the research questions and to some of the interview data. These form a valuable part of the process of understanding the reason for developing distance education in the West Indies and in Jamaica, where the fieldwork was conducted.

Philosophy and method in this thesis were not necessarily separate issues in the analysis of the data. Where method and philosophy contain elements of the other they were incorporated in the analysis. Bastiani's view is that:

Theoretical perspectives, containing ways of accounting for human behaviour and social experience, inevitably embody philosophical and ideological values. Such values in turn are redolent of central issues and problems. These broader views are themselves suggestive of ways in which key concerns should be defined and studied even if these are not always made explicit. Within this logic the wider approach will imply ideas about what is to count as evidence. Philosophy and method, then, will each contain in distillation the essence of the other, however obscure that may be. Such a view is a direct counter to widely held and prevailing views of research method which act on the assumption that matters of method are neutral, involve decisions about and choices from an extant repertoire of technique and are external to the research problem and independent of it. (Bastiani, 1983: 147)

In the literature review it was pointed out that many developing countries saw the potential of distance education as a way of educating masses of people with the limited resources they have available. It is an ideological position with respect to the desire to educate everyone and the ability of distance education to make this possible. Linkages of an ideological nature then, logically exist (consciously or unconsciously) between the theoretical perspectives, the methodology and the research problem.

Discussion and Summary

The response from the majority of interviews with JAMAL students in the pilot study did not provide any information about development related to distance education. It provided information about the influence of the church on people's daily lives, which has no relevance to development, unless one is prepared to argue that setting up a church of one's own, or greater participation in an already established church constitutes development. In the circumstances JAMAL students were not included in the main study interviews.

However, the data collection methods, main study interviews and documentary reviews, worked together to provide relevant data for the main study. The interviews provided a range of information about distance education and development in Jamaica, gave insights into the benefits of the programmes and some of the ideological background that determines attitudes to the educational development programmes.

The documentary review provided information about the background to the development of distance education and an understanding of how the response to distance education as a supplementary form of education developed and declined in periods of political change and economic and financial constraints.

The qualitative method of enquiry was appropriate for this study as it enabled me to be involved with the interviewees in the situation that was being explained and in the work that was being done in distance education in several cases. The methodology was therefore, in this case, not alien to its setting but a part of it.

Constraints of time made it impossible to do any significant analysis, on the spot, in Jamaica. However some of the discussions that took place with interviewees, outside of the interview situation, were sufficiently intensive to give the interviewer an insight into how individuals see distance education as contributing to development, and to identify possible areas of convergence in their thinking with the findings from preliminary analysis.

The limitations of this study are connected to the fact that it was not possible to include students and ordinary citizens in the main study interviews. JAMAL students were not interviewed for the main study because of the repetitive nature of the information obtained from them. Only four UWIDITE students were available for interviews for the pilot study and interviewing these students a second time could not be guaranteed. The student perspective on how the system works, the nature and level of interaction with the teachers and the particular benefits and disadvantages to them could have been a useful indicator of the value of distance education to developing countries and the individuals participating in the teaching/learning process. It is a difficult area to research in Jamaica but none the less it could produce very important information for Jamaican and other educators in the Caribbean who are intending to employ distance education methods in literacy and tertiary education.

Contributions from ordinary people constitute another limitation. These contributions may have provided the social, psychological and political perspective which one does not always get from politicians and indeed from individuals occupying positions of power.

The study, in so far as it was possible to conduct it with individuals involved in the process of making distance education work, sometimes under adverse circumstances and with less than adequate resources, was an indication of the extent of their dedication and belief in distance education as a possible way of extending educational franchise in Jamaica. A high level of optimism was discovered amongst the practitioners of distance education and because of this optimism various types of innovations are undertaken where resource deficiency creates a problem. This is part of what made the research worthwhile and justifies the method.

Chapter 4 - Distance Education and the Development of Teacher Education in Jamaica.

Introduction

In the 1970's Jamaica began the use of Distance Education to meet a growing demand for well qualified teachers within the education system. This chapter examines the demand for and the use of distance education methods for improving teacher education in Jamaica. This is important because the traditional institutions have not been producing enough teachers to meet the demand for well qualified teachers. It is important also to establish the extent of the demand for education in Jamaica and the extent to which this demand has influenced education policies and teacher education in particular.

The idea is to see to what extent education expansion has been achieved through Distance Education. Consideration of who benefits from this development is important since development is being examined in the context of how the benefits, if any, have helped Jamaicans, individually and collectively.

The Demand for Education.

The speed of reconstruction at the end of the Second World War of Western, European and Japanese economies has had its particular share of influence on the demand for education in developing countries. The Marshal Plan, which put capital into some of the devastated countries of Western Europe, assisted this rapid reconstruction. There was already available a supply of skilled labour in these countries that could utilise the capital input effectively. (Armstrong et. al., 1984)

In the Caribbean countries these levels of skills did not exist in the immediate post-war period and the governments at that time were not in a position to negotiate aid packages for development purposes without external approval. Power and responsibility for development lay elsewhere with interests outside the Caribbean. People in Jamaica and the Caribbean countries with marketable skills had a totally different kind of lifestyle, superior to those people who did not possess similar skills. These skilled people worked in what was called the "modern sector" of the economy.

Except in rare circumstances the best paid and secure employment was not undertaken by the local inhabitants, who were not 'educated' in sufficient numbers or to a level regarded as marketable to compete for the jobs that were available. In Zambia, at independence, in 1964, out of the whole population (4.5 million in 1976) there were only 100 university graduates and 1200 people having Cambridge Overseas School Certificate. These people were unlikely to rise to the upper echelons in a colonial administration. Those positions were reserved for expatriate staff. Because the doors were closed to the most capable of the local inhabitants, colonial governments such as Britain forced the best brains of her colonies into two occupations: law and medicine. (Murray 1979).

These two professions, therefore, became the status goal for the people, a status which gained in popularity because of the many lawyers and doctors who became the political leaders in developing countries. Examples of these political leaders are Nehru of India, Castro of Cuba, Banda of Malawi, Manley of Jamaica. These professions provided the means of earning a living through self employment. To be educated was also seen as the way to secure prestigious employment and 'high' status, but obtaining the necessary education and qualifications meant formidable obstacles had to be overcome.

The relative few who acquired 'good' secondary education and eventually higher education through scholarships and correspondence courses also felt that their progress was limited by their exclusion from participation in and control of the national resources in their countries. This educated element of the local population initiated the process of gaining a foothold in determining their country's direction by promoting the idea of independence and mobilising the local population on educational issues that was believed to be achievable with independence. An example in the Caribbean is given by Meeks in his writings about the Caribbean and Grenada in particular. He quotes Bishop, a leader of the Grenadian revolution and former Prime Minister, another lawyer, justifying the way power was taken:

What we did we did in their (the people's) interest even if they did not necessarily understand why we were doing what we were doing. (Meeks, 1993: 129)

The mobilising of people to 'fight' for a cause is not always understood by all the mobilised people but trust existed between the mass of people and

the educated. It was then up to the new leaders that emerge from this situation to justify the trust placed in them.

The process of winning concessions in Jamaica can be traced back to Paul Bogle, in the Morant Bay rebellion through to Marcus Garvey and the independence movement which began in the 1930's. It was led by a section of the educated middle-class, who developed an interest in the management of local resources. The ordinary members of the population were then mobilised to make effective the ambitions and vision of the educated middle class.

The Independence Movement

The Independence Movement in the late 1950's and 1960's mobilised the populations of some developing countries around issues of neglect, offering policies that promised to promote development. A skilled and educated labour force was believed to be essential for the implementation of any development strategy. It was a position supported by the people in developing countries who could see that it was the educated who were the 'privileged'.

Halliday points to the situation in the Caribbean where not only are the educated occupying the 'better' positions but:

in almost all the newly independent countries, the political leaders came from the ranks of those who gained education or scholastic achievement. Education impacts through the political process on the leaders and the led. It is through education that a new political culture is created and obsolete political structure inimical to economic growth is removed. (Halliday, 1991: 38).

During the period of the independence struggle, some political elements, both in the countries in which the struggles took place and in the countries from which independence was sought, were critical of the kinds of political campaigns that developed. The politics were regarded as the politics of nationalism and seen as incapable of providing the background against which improved social and economic conditions could be achieved, especially by the industrial working class.

The criticisms, however, amounted to no more than rhetoric because no effective alternatives were articulated and many of the countries seeking independence did not have an industrial working class. In Jamaica what existed were the traditional political forces of social democracy and right-of-

centre political parties with a small element of communists, described as Stalinists, competing for political power. The social democratic and right-of-centre parties were the main political forces, with a common ideology, but with a different order of priorities.

The main political parties could be described as pro-capitalist in their early stages, as they are at present, but without the existence of a capitalist class in terms of a Jamaican ownership of a productive and distributive capacity. The situation in that respect has changed somewhat in that a local capitalist class now exists, but with more allegiance to the main world capitalist formation than to Jamaica. (Manley, 1991).

In this context education was viewed, by many, as a way of achieving upward social and economic mobility and worth pursuing. Education not only had the ingredients of upward social mobility, for the individual, but it also had development potential.

Education continues to be regarded as an important avenue of social mobility in Jamaica and the developing Caribbean countries. To be educated in many developing countries means having paper qualifications which are used to define achieved educational standards. (Dore, 1976). These qualifications were also used as a way of controlling and gaining access to further education and securing particular types of occupation in modern economies.

Paper qualifications therefore have a high status in developing countries, and more status than in the developed and industrialised countries. In other words, to be educated in the developing world is highly related to certification. Sometimes the more numerous the certificates the better educated one is regarded and the more impressive the occupation one expects. Education was therefore seen as a way of escaping from poverty and deprivation and achieving high social status jobs.

Sherlock and Nettleford (1990) argued that expenditure on education was to be seen as an investment like any other and that the return on investment in education both individually and socially is as high as any other. When, therefore, politicians campaign on the education issue as a way of gaining support and of mobilising people, they are usually speaking to an already converted population who can observe directly the privileged lifestyles of the educated. The poorer sections of the society see education as a way of

gaining entry to that privileged and secure life.

Dore, in describing the process of educational demand and expansion in developing countries, quotes Larimer (1931) as saying that:

motives for adult study are commonly less idealistic than some educators would like to believe. Poets are eager for an increase of beauty and social scientists are interested in the intelligent social control of public affairs. And many men and women in all walks of life share these hungers. But, by all odds, the largest percentage of [adult students] in Brooklyn ... are motivated by a sense of economic or social insecurity and to a concern to advance themselves vocationally or in social status. (Dore, 1976: 3)

The study referred to here was conducted in the United States of America in 1929 just before the great depression and provided some evidence that in the 'developed' world education was seen as a way out of deprivation for individuals. It could also be seen as the struggle of the individual for independence.

In addition to the individual struggle for independence through education, population control was regarded as an important factor in the management of development but this also was linked to education. The rationale was partly based on the observed relationship, by social scientists and academics, between small families and educational levels and earning power. It was not a relationship observed by the poor, who had large families in conditions of poverty which ensured a reasonable number surviving and therefore a source of income for the parents when they are old and unable to work. This tendency for large families bears some responsibility for the growth in population in developing countries which, it is often argued, is responsible for limiting economic growth.

Growth in the Population

Growth in world population measured by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation shows an upward trend in the following data:

World Population in Millions.

Table 4: 1

Year	1970	1975	1980	1984	2000
Africa	361	413	479	539	900
North America	227	239	252	261	270
Latin America & Caribbean	283	321	361	396	550
Asia	2102	2354	2584	2771	3650
Europe & USSR	701	728	750	765	800
Oceania	19	21	23	24	30
Developed countries	1053	102	1147	1178	N/A
Developing countries	2641	2972	3303	3579	N/A
Total	3693	3076	4450	4757	6200

Source: Unesco Statistics, 1986

In the year 2000 world population is expected to have increased by approximately 68 per cent over the 1970 total. In terms of the surface area of the regions Africa is not an over-populated continent compared to Europe or Asia but the rate of growth in population calls for expanding resources if they are to cope with the demands, in educational and economic terms, that the rate of population growth places on them.

In Jamaica the population grew by approximately 23 per cent between 1970 and 1984. This rate of growth is significantly higher than that of the developed countries but lower than the rate of growth for the developing countries as a whole. The ages are grouped to show the growth of the population in each group.

Growth in Population in Jamaica between 1970 and 1990.

Table: 42

Age group	1970	End of 1975	year 1980	1985	1990
0-4	317,100	301,300	282,200	275,600	284,600
5-9	288,200	304,900	287,400	279,300	268,100
10-14	237,800	272,700	284,300	291,800	268,200
15-19	187,000	218,800	250,700	280,400	276,200
20-24	136,300	168,100	200,400	118,600	131,900
25-29	101,700	125,100	148,000	090,500	112,300
30-34	086,400	097,400	112,400	133,700	173,200
35-39	078,500	083,600	092,900	104,600	123,600
40-44	075,800	076,600	081,000	088,000	097,300
45-49	072,800	072,200	074,300	078,400	083,100
50-54	067,800	067,500	067,800	071,300	073,000
55-59	031,400	032,200	031,800	063,500	065,900
60-64	027,000	028,900	028,600	048,400	057,400
65 -69	021,800	023,900	025,900	048,400	048,300
70 +	064,300	076,700	095,600	114,400	106,600
Total	1,868,900	2,029,500	2,143,200	2,311,100	2,416,600

Source: Ramesar, Distance Teaching in the English-speaking Caribbean, 1990.

From the table it can be seen that the number of births began to decline after 1975, but the number of 0-4 years-old had its effect later on in 1980 and 1985 when they would have become the new 10-14 year olds. In Jamaica the school age population reached its peak in 1975 and then started to decline during the rest of that decade. This decline under normal circumstances may have been the opportunity for significant educational development and the raising of educational standards but the circumstances were not normal. The percentage of 5 to 14 years old averaged 26 per cent of the total population between 1970 and 1990 with a high of 28.5 per cent in 1975.

When the whole teenage population is taken into consideration the percentage of teenagers then becomes an average of 36 per cent of the population with a high of 38 per cent in 1970. This period coincided with the election of a new government and a radical reduction in public spending due to 'acute economic pressures' which affected education. The restrictions on government spending continued with the successor governments through to 1990. The situation is described in the Jamaica Five Year

Development Plan 1990 -1995. It states:

During the last decade when the nation experienced acute economic pressure, there were reductions in public expenditure on education and training. This resulted in the inadequate provision of physical facilities and equipment, teaching and managerial staff, and appropriate instructional materials. Today, erosion of quality and severe inefficiencies characterize the sector. (JFYDP, 1990 : 88)

Part of this period also coincided with mass migration from Jamaica to the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada which may have helped to reduce the pressure of demand for better social provision in Jamaica. In Latin America and the Caribbean region the population increase between 1970 and 1984 was 113,000,000 an increase of 40 per cent. In Jamaica the population increased by 442,200, over 23 per cent, which is almost double the rate for North America. For the comparable period the population of the North American countries increased by approximately 12 per cent and for Europe and the USSR by 9 per cent. The population in the Latin American and Caribbean countries is increasing at nearly three times the rate of the North American population and well over four times the rate of Europe.

The resource implication for education is therefore considerable even without a policy, which Caribbean governments have, of education provision for all but which they do not always enforce. It appears that the pressing population growth that affects most developing countries has been brought under partial control in Jamaica. The question here, then, is not one of huge population growth requiring large additional resources for education in order to remain at the same stage educationally, but one of finding the resources for appropriate educational development projects.

The fact that some countries are developed, and that a constant factor between developed countries was their literacy may have encouraged developing countries to go in the same direction without the recognition that their educational policies had the same ideological base as that of the countries from which they sought their independence. If there was any consideration that development in the capitalist world had been consolidated under conditions that did not now apply to the newly emerging countries then this was not demonstrated.

Education Policy Formation in Jamaica

The current Jamaica Five Year Development Plan (JFYDP) addressing issues,

described as the social dimensions, has emphasised the role of education in the development strategy of Jamaica. It states:

the objective is to ensure that the quality of life of all the people of Jamaica is enhanced, and that each individual is motivated to play his/her part fully in the effort to place the economy firmly on the path of growth and development.

The Education sector has been identified as being pivotal to this process, and has therefore been selected for special attention over the plan period. (JFYDP, 1990: 87)

A pivotal role for education in the Caribbean produces many common elements that make the education system in one island indistinguishable from that in another island. There is a common curriculum, and a common system of examination with a common certificate, the Caribbean Examination Certificate (CXC). Students from one island in the region can theoretically sit their examination in any other island. This relatively new development also exerts pressure for the standardisation of teacher training which the University of the West Indies ensures by supervising the standards in the constituent colleges in the West Indies.

The small size of the islands and their populations ensures a high level of cooperation because of the felt need of international education agencies to work on large scale projects that can benefit from economies of scale. It would therefore be unrealistic to discuss the development of education in Jamaica without reference to other parts of the Caribbean region. An attempt at a discussion of Jamaica alone, as a separate entity, does not give a complete view of interdependence in educational development within the region.

The educational development that takes place in the region is an integral part of the development that takes place in Jamaica, because of past historical connections, similar conditions and continued attempts at economic integration. The limitation is that a discussion about the whole Caribbean is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Miller, writing about the educational cooperation in the region, makes the point that:

The common location, similar history and prospects for a shared destiny make it almost mandatory for Caribbean states to cooperate in educational endeavours. Multilateral and bilateral agencies engaged in development cooperation may find it burdensome and costly to deal

individually with Caribbean countries on the same educational issues. However, while regional cooperation is recognised by all as essential, economical and useful, the exact mechanisms for bringing it about are not self evident. (Miller, 1992: 206-7)

The difficulties in relation to mechanisms for regional cooperation is about the difference in priorities as seen by different governments in the Caribbean, and the difference between those governments and international aid agencies. The need to fund primary education projects, for example, is not regarded as the main priority in the Caribbean at this time because it is argued that a high level of attendance is already being achieved, at the primary stage, except in the case of Haiti, and that in the case of reading, the only subject for which data is available, the results suggest that the standards are not far below those of the industrialised countries. Therefore the tendency of aid agencies to look at the world as a whole, select primary education as needing priority attention and then apply that selection globally, has an adverse effect on Caribbean education and development. (Miller, 1991).

However, it needs to be recognised that primary education can be selected for priority attention in a number of ways, including the concentration of expenditure on primary teacher education. This is a form of educational expenditure that can also be included in higher education budgets and even extend to distance education, where distance education is used for teacher education.

Distance Education and the Education Broadcasting Service

The interest and co-operation in education among Caribbean governments extends to distance education, which on a regional basis serves the demand for higher education in the smaller islands where there is no University campus. These smaller countries without a university campus are described as the Non-campus countries by University booklets and spokespersons.

Distance education, directed at schooling in Jamaica seems to have two purposes:

1. It provides education for students in subject areas where there is a shortage of qualified subject teachers, for example in mathematics and science and
2. It helps in the upgrading of teacher education, particularly for teachers in primary education who initially used the Education Broadcasting Service.

The Education Broadcasting Service delivered educational broadcasts to schools in various subjects, so in that respect it was primarily geared to the education of school students. However the teachers' section was important because the education, for them, was designed to inform the teacher how the subject could be taught and then presented in the form of a teacher's guide. The courses being produced were for teachers and pupils.

A further function was added and that function was to educate pre-certificate teachers. A senior education officer interviewed explains the situation:

Distance education is described by many people as radio school or television school. The programme was extended to include teachers, in other words a segment was put in specially for teachers, and principals were asked to give them [the teachers] time to sit and listen so that inexperienced teachers would be able to learn how to approach some topics for children. (Interviewee: 007)

The project lasted nine years and was shut down in 1983. Two explanations were given by interviewees for the ending of the project. 1. The period was described as a period of severe financial difficulty for the government and consequently the cuts had to be introduced. 2. That the project was ended because the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) government regarded it as politically biased. The JLP government then put the broadcasting facilities available, after shut down of the project, under the office of the Prime Minister and then changed its role, reduced the staffing and curtailed its function.

Interviewees described the Education Broadcasting Service as a service for everyone, school students, teachers and anyone with the time to listen. It was found to be particularly useful during the period of severe shortage of qualified teachers in Jamaica. It was important in providing teaching skills for individuals who were "unqualified" [pre-qualified] but wished to teach. The meaning of unqualified in this context is that there were people who possessed no recognised academic qualifications but who were numerate and literate to a standard acceptable to the education authorities. The standards were described by one official as:

Anyone who aspired to become a teacher and could not go to college. That was a form of in-service distance education. These teachers were called pre-trained and the programme was called In-service Teacher Education Trust [ISTET]. (Interviewee: 011)

Those teachers were trained while they were still teaching. They successfully

acquired teaching skills and are now of benefit to the education service in a re-launch of distance education for the upgrading of teacher qualifications. The period was important for the development of distance education particularly, but not exclusively, because it was a period in which there was the facility for cooperation between distance education organisations. An interviewee who has been associated with the programme of in-service teacher education points out that:

The Education Broadcasting Service (EBS) the Jamaica Information Service, (JIS) and the Jamaica Movement for the Advancement of Literacy (JAMAL) collaborated very closely. We have one common interest, and all of us did radio and television programmes for the EBS. (Interviewee: 012)

This collaboration involved the above mentioned organisations doing what they were best at, for their own and the benefit of each other's organisation, producing literature, dealing with literacy issues and cooperating through the use of broadcasting equipment. After the Education Broadcasting Service closed in 1983 the equipment was transferred to the Creative Production and Training Centre Limited (CPTC), a government created organisation. The CPTC is discussed below.

With the closure of the Education Broadcasting Service, co-operation between the organisations ceased. Each organisation had to make its own arrangements with the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation for educational broadcasts, when previously that arrangement could be co-ordinated through the Education Broadcasting Service which had the responsibility and transmission equipment. The potential for conflicting demands on the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation was real.

The Education Broadcasting Service was established under the government of the People's National Party and was closed under the government of the Jamaica Labour Party. (Traditionally in Jamaica the Jamaica Labour Party is regarded as the party of the political right but as the two parties evolve, their ideology becomes identical, with the People's National Party adopting a 'free market economy' as its economic strategy).

One interviewee commenting on the political basis for the denial of educational facilities argued that:

In government circles at the time there was a belief that education, although having the potential to contribute to development, can also lead to expectations that cannot be fulfilled. In addition, people with

the ability to collect and analyse information can become independent of government and party political propaganda and control. There is always a struggle to deny the people this kind of power because, once they have acquired it, it cannot be taken away from them and there is always the chance that they may use the new empowerment independently. (Interviewee 015).

Another interviewee who has since left the education service said:

I can state categorically that it is the Jamaica Labour Party which is determined to keep people in ignorance and they will undo all the good things that the PNP has done in the educational arena. (Interviewee: 019)

Another interviewee also pointed out that:

the closing of the Education Broadcasting service took place because the government believed it was used for political indoctrination. (Interviewee: 014)

Although this may be regarded as somewhat exaggerated it is indicative of two things. 1. People, and particularly education workers, regard political control as one essential determinant of educational development and provision. 2. That governments affect attitudes to education.

In the following chapters the discussion of these views show that this is not an understanding shared by all educational workers but it is also significant that there is no argument the other way. That is, there is no one claiming that the Jamaica Labour Party is the party of education, not even declared supporters of the Jamaica Labour Party. It is also significant that there was no examination of the educational effects and no educational argument produced to justify the closure of educational programmes. The indication is that there is some political resistance to extending education benefits in Jamaica located in one of the political parties.

Broadcasts to schools were delivered through the Education Broadcasting Service, according to an education consultant to the Jamaica government, who said:

Jamaica's Education Broadcasting Service utilised the service of the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation along with other organisations for the purposes of educational broadcasts. In 1976 the Education Broadcasting Service, through a World Bank loan, acquired broadcasting and repair facilities and all the equipment which is now

known as the Creative Production and Training Centre. All was owned by the Education Broadcasting Service. (Interviewee: 026)

The significance of the equipment is that all educational broadcasts could be prepared at the Education Broadcasting Service and a 'hook up' arrangement, according to the interviewee, made with the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation. The Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation is a government owned and controlled organisation with responsibility for national broadcasting. They were in control of all broadcasting in the 1960's and 1970's.

The Creative Production and Training Centre

The Creative Production and Training Centre was then set up in 1984 using the equipment of the Educational Broadcasting Service and put under the control of the Prime Minister's Office. The Education Broadcasting Service was fulfilling an educational function at the time it was closed. In Chapter Five reference is made to the comment of one interviewee that the Education Broadcasting Service was wound up and education to schools was discontinued because it [the education] was seen to be too political.

The Creative Production and Training Centre was established by the government as an independent company to engage in the training of individuals in broadcasting. The period of the establishment coincided with the reduction and ending of educational broadcasts to schools.

However the connection with education was not severed totally because the training of education officers in the use of education media continued. Although this training had to be paid for, the rates were not wholly commercial. Concessionary rates were offered to the Ministry of Education but the nature of the financial austerity undermined the Ministry of Education's ability to engage in extensive use of the facility under the new arrangements.

In the period up to 1980 there was extensive activity in educational broadcasting in Jamaica but after the closing of the Educational Broadcasting Services the decline in educational broadcasts began and continued up to the point at which the government invited the Commonwealth of Learning to report on the educational situation with regard to distance education in Jamaica.

The Commonwealth of Learning Report

The Commonwealth of Learning Report in 1989 found the situation to be favourable for distance education and the Commonwealth of Learning offered to participate in the distance education aspect of educational development in Jamaica.

The Report found that there was a substantial number of trained teachers in Jamaica but that they were leaving in large numbers to find more lucrative employment elsewhere and that this situation was exacerbated by a:

continuing decline in the output from the teacher training institutions which were only producing some two thirds of the number of teachers required annually and that further effort to improve the quality of the teaching service will be self-defeating if teachers trained to superior levels of qualifications continue to leave the teaching profession for better paid jobs in the private sector. (Greig, 1989: 11)

In terms of an immediate solution, competitive rates of pay for teachers could, it was thought, stem the outflow from the 'profession' but there was also the question of how to replace those qualified teachers who had already left teaching. The government's inability to pay teachers a competitive salary not only caused teachers to reject teaching as a profession, it had other effects. Teachers began to take other jobs to supplement their pay and after a while this became a permanent feature of their lives.

If, therefore, competitive pay was introduced, the habit of doing two jobs would be difficult to break because of the additional income generated by two jobs and because, whatever the level of pay, two incomes may be preferable to one. A competitive salary may however involve a substantial increase in pay, because in other areas of education for example, higher education, pay can be as much as five times a teacher's salary plus the right to other sources of income.

Between 1973 and 1978 the government had, prior to the commissioning of this Report by the Commonwealth of Learning, engaged in a teacher upgrading education programme by distance teaching methods. Now two approaches to distance teaching are being re-developed by the Ministry of Education. In one approach distance teaching is for use in secondary schools, specifically for the purpose of covering areas of the curriculum where there is a shortage of subject teachers. In the second case distance education is intended for the upgrading of teachers who are already qualified but need

further education and training because of the increasing demand in the schools for better qualified and more highly skilled teachers.

Teacher Up-grading

The programme being developed for the upgrading of teacher education is known as the "post certificate" programme because the course members are teachers who are already qualified through a certificate course undertaken at a college of teacher education.

The post-certificate course was designed specially for trained primary school teachers who had qualified as teachers but needed further qualifications to be able to deliver the new standards of education required in the Jamaican schools. The Ministry of Education then identified through its Tertiary Education Unit, based at the Ministry of Education, five delivery options for teacher upgrading, one of which was distance education.

The distance education option, according to the Report was:

of particular interest to the Commonwealth of Learning in as much as the Commonwealth of Learning has expressed a desire to support the National Teacher Upgrading Programme through strengthening distance education techniques in Jamaica. (Greig, 1989: 12)

The distance education option also had the support of the Jamaica Teachers' Association, which had developed educational packages of its own in Language, Arts and Education. The educational packages were to become part of the distance education packages once they were accepted by the Joint Board of Teacher Education, the authorising body. The packages were to be offered, beginning in October, 1989 and it was expected that about 300 teachers would benefit from the course initially.

The Report said that:

Since 1976 there has been a steady and rapid increase in the number of trained teachers in the schools. ...In primary and all-age schools the percentage increase was substantially higher than 54 per cent and all but 120 of the 4000 teachers in primary schools were trained. Some 400 teachers of the 5500 teachers in all-age schools were untrained. (Greig, 1989: 22)

This was seen as an indication of the systems potential for growth and change but concern was still expressed that the number of teachers in primary and all age schools with inadequate qualification was too large.

The Report concluded that:

Distance Education was gaining a foothold in Jamaica as supplementary to conventional modes of delivering education and is getting support from the Jamaica Teachers' Association for Distance Education in filling the immense teaching needs in education. (Greig, 1989: 22)

Support from the teachers' organisation is important for the success of distance education initiatives. It meant that teachers would be encouraged and supported in taking up the courses and valuable assistance would be offered, with a teacher perspective from teachers or their representatives serving on the Council of Distance Education.

Among the Report's recommendations was that a Council of Distance Education be established under the auspices of the Ministry of Education to:

oversee the development of a comprehensive plan to meet the human resources need in the education sector through open learning and distance education. (Greig, 1989: 22)

In addition to underlining the need for distance education in Jamaica the Report also recommended that the Commonwealth of Learning assist with the training needs and the acquisition of training course material to meet those needs. Another recommendation was the decentralising of the education system in Jamaica with the creation of learning centres under the direction of Regional Education Offices in order that immediate or near immediate responses can be obtained to educational needs.

The Ministry of Education 'implemented' the recommendation by establishing learning centres and then produced its own guide-lines for an Educational Media Unit. Later it produced a National Curriculum against which the performance of all schools will be measured. The education system was not decentralised but its administrative functions were dispersed.

The Guidelines

The guide-lines noted the background against which the Education Media Unit was operating and recalled that the:

Education Broadcasting Service was closed down in 1983 with the responsibility for educational media transferred to the Core Curriculum Unit of the Ministry of Education. (Budhlall, 1991: 1)

The guide-lines then suggested that the potential of education media to improve the quality of education has been recognised and because of this recognition there is a desire to establish a unit for providing multimedia learning material to the education system.

On the question of media for distance education the similarity of the guide-lines to the Commonwealth of Learning Report is clearly stated:

A major client of the Educational Media Unit will be the Professional Development Unit which will be responsible for designing learning programmes to upgrade skills of persons throughout the educational system including classroom teachers, principals and education officers. Because of the need to upgrade teaching skills while causing minimum disruption to the system it is envisaged that distance education methodology will be used as one of the teaching methods. (Budhlall, 1991: 12).

While undertaking to use distance teaching methods the implication is that other methods of teaching would also be used. However the need to avoid disruption in the education system, while teachers are undergoing training, was featuring as an important factor in the decision to use distance teaching methods. It underlines earlier comments that distance teaching was seen as a way of overcoming various obstacles affecting the quality of education.

Secondary education for students in All Age Schools was also addressed as an issue that needed attention and the example of the Dominican Republic's use of distance teaching methods in secondary and primary schools was cited as an example of how radio and print may be used to assist the All Age Schools. Budhlall makes the point that in addition to teacher upgrading:

secondary level education could be taken to students in Grades 7 to 9 in the All Age Schools where there are no trained teachers for this level of teaching. (Budhlall, 1991: 12).

Distance education was therefore expected to offer some solutions to the problems of teacher shortage, teacher upgrading and the acute shortage of qualified teachers for secondary education, particularly in the rural schools.

In taking secondary education to All Age Schools teachers and students could learn together with the hope that the teacher would acquire sufficient understanding of the subject and be at least just ahead of the student and be

able to fulfil the task of the teacher. One interviewee, a senior academic at the University of the West Indies, in support of this approach, said:

I remember when I was at school my teachers were like little gods, totally dedicated and they would learn with you in such a way that they made the whole thing about education so exciting. (Interviewee: 019).

Learning alongside your students is not a new concept to teachers in Jamaica. It is one to which former students, now teachers, refer as important in their formative years when well qualified teachers were in short supply and which is now being considered as a possible way of meeting an educational need.

The shortage of qualified teachers in rural schools was also of concern to one interviewee and senior JAMAL teacher, who supported the argument for using distance teaching methods for rural schools. It was suggested:

There is a need for distance education at some levels. In rural areas where schools are broken down and facilities are non-existent, the children have a problem of getting to school miles away because the local school no longer functions and they can't get teachers because they have accommodation problems, sanitation etc. I cannot think of another way in which we can in the short term expand basic education in this country. (Interviewee: 028).

The expansion of basic education is regarded as a necessity because many children, especially in the rural areas, are not deriving benefits from any type of education. Irregular attendance and scarcity of qualified teachers are two barriers to the expansion of basic education.

Expansion in Primary and Secondary Education.

On a world scale, during the last thirty years, education has been expanding in terms of the number of students and the number and types of institutions that have been established. The growth in education provision is related to the need to develop economies and to use efficiently new technologies which are seen as an integral part of development. In developing countries there is a tendency to associate development with the societies that produce and use sophisticated technologies and the ability to use sophisticated technology is seen as linked to education.

In most African countries there was a large increase in primary school enrolment from approximately 10 million in 1950 to over 66 million in

1984. The increase in enrolment coincides with the achievement of independent status, which nearly all African countries had achieved by the 1980's. This development was due to the fact that more school places became available in the newly independent countries as a direct result of political and policy decisions about education and development.

Development in Primary and Secondary Enrolment Between 1950 and 1984 in Millions. (selected years)

Table 4: 3,

	1950		1960		1970		1980		1984	
	p	s	p	s	p	s	p	s	p	s
Devpg										
countries	140	24	252	46	311	80	444	159	467	275
Devd										
countries	84	42	117	37	119	78	110	83	108	84
Total	224	66	369	83	430	158	554	232	575	359

p primary s secondary.
Source Unesco statistics, (1953 to 1986)

The increase in primary and secondary enrolment during the selected period (table 4: 3) is large in both the developed and developing countries. What is remarkable, however, is that whilst the growth in primary education was over 300 per cent in the developing world the increase in enrolment in primary education in the developed countries was 28 per cent between 1950 and 1984. In secondary education (which includes technical education) the increase in the developing countries was over 600 per cent up to 1980 with increases of 200 per cent for the developed countries over the same period. Even more remarkable was the increase in registration on the African continent, which registered increases of eighteen fold. (UNESCO, 1986).

Watson (1984) explained the expansion in secondary education by the need to train middle class staff who were not available after independence, but there was the additional issue of needing an educated population to tackle the development issues with which developing countries were faced immediately after independence. Political independence was already settled in most of the developing world by the beginning of the 1980's. In Africa most countries were independent and were now addressing the primary

and secondary education issues which were seen as vital components of any development strategy.

Education and Development

Education has been viewed as one of the main agents of development. The World Bank Report, (1986) in a study of eight countries, showed that farmers with four years of schooling were producing crop yields of nine per cent higher than those who were not educated. In this World Bank study the common element was seen as education but it is not at all clear that education was the only reason. The length of time it takes to learn to read is considerable and the length of time it takes to read and understand can be such that it cannot satisfactorily meet all development objectives or be immediately translated into higher production.

Education has been shown to have some development effect in the case of Tanzania where there was an attempt at a redistribution of wealth but without any significant increase in the actual wealth available for distribution. The social policies that accompanied attempts at education did not generate development but instead undermined it by promoting dependency on the State. (Remi, African Red Family; Vol. 1 Nos 3-4)

However Lobo et. al (1979) argued that the expansion of education in Cuba was accompanied by income redistribution although the redistribution did not lead to an equalisation of income. Policies were put into place to facilitate the equalisation of income. Although Lobo does not see education as necessarily the main factor in this change, it was seen as one of the determining factors in the change process, the other being social policy decisions about the distribution of additional wealth.

Income redistribution in Cuba was accompanied by an expansion of education, particularly at lower levels, but this expansion did not lead to an equalisation of incomes. Expanded formal schooling was the cutting edge of rationalising the organisation of society and the new distribution of goods and services.

According to Lobo,

In the Cuban revolution, increased schooling and more equally distributed schooling and training were therefore a necessary complement to equalised income and wealth, not only as a service

which itself had to be redistributed, but also as an important ingredient in socialising Cubans into the new order and preparing them for roles in the new organisation of production. (Lobo, 1979 : 31).

In the post-revolution situation, education was having an effect on the development and attitudes of Cubans but policies had to be put in place to assist the effect education had in bringing about the desired change in relation to production, wealth and the social services. The indication is that education may not be directly responsible for change but is a valuable ally where policies are implemented to bring about change.

Education as an agent and ally of change and development was not just the business of post revolutionary Cuba. In many countries regardless of their state of development and their ideology, a literate and educated population, was seen as more productive and desirable. Tolerance of illiteracy and sub-standard education is regarded as a waste of a society's potentially available talent. (Ingermar and Shah, 1983).

Bowles (1980) argued that the output of schools is not only labour power as an input into the production process, but it is also the production and transformation of relationships, which may be seen in social and economic terms. Ingermar and Shah (1983) also reported that the school in Japan was regarded as essential for economic growth and that there was a Japanese acknowledgement that education can make a direct contribution to economic development and advancement.

Williams emphasised that what is needed is not:

an improvement in the average level of education of people in each occupational group but the range and the appropriate weights. For example in 1959 clerical workers in Japan were distributed as follows: 29% had completed elementary education, 56% had completed secondary education and 15% had completed higher education. After completing these steps one gets the number of primary, secondary and higher level graduates that will be required if the target year planned for at national level is to be achieved. (Williams, 1971: 34).

Bowles also decided that in a capitalist social formation the school can help to increase productivity in two closely related ways:

First by transmitting and reinforcing the values, expectations, beliefs, types of information and modes of behaviour required for both the adequate performance on the job, and for the smooth functioning of basic institutions such as the labour market.

Second by developing the technical and scientific skills necessary to efficient production, although few of the academic skills learned in schools are directly transferable to the capitalist work-place, basic scientific knowledge, communication skills and mathematical abilities are essential to help in some occupations. (Bowles, 1980 : 215).

The argument that education plays an essential role in development and assists in the formation of the character of the individual for the purposes of development is held by capitalist and socialist countries alike, so that even with the demise of socialist ideology in most of the ex-socialist countries in Eastern Europe and the ex-Soviet Union it is possible to keep intact that particular belief that education assists development and therefore transcends ideology. For the World Bank, education promotes development and for UNESCO, it is not only a development issue but one of entitlement.

In the developing world, educationalists and politicians continue to regard education as an important component of any development strategy although there may be differences in emphasis. Freire (1972) places great importance on education for conscientisation, which takes literacy beyond the normal understanding of reading and writing, to encompass the quality of human social consciousness. That human consciousness can also apply to the post literate society if the emphasis is placed on education for responsibility.

Investment in education in the developed and developing world has been encouraged by evidence and argument that the rate of return on investment in education may be considerable, when measured by comparing the higher lifetime productivity of the educated worker with the social and private cost of education (Psacharopulus, 1985). Returns on education is seen to be most profitable in primary education in the developing countries.

Returns to Investment in Education by Region, Type and Level

Table:4. 4.

	<u>social return</u>			<u>private return</u>		
	primary	second	higher	primary	second	higher
Africa	26	17	13	45	26	32
Asia	27	15	13	31	15	16
L. America	26	18	16	32	23	26
Europe						
Middle East	13	10	08	17	13	13
and N Africa						
Developing	24	5	13	39	19	22
Countries						
Developed.	na	11	09	na	12	12
Countries						

(Source: Psacharopoulos, 1985)

In the developing countries differential earnings in employment are linked to education. These differentials were often created, post-independence, to attract expatriate staff (Blaug, 1970), and have been maintained by the local educated, thus maintaining a huge gap between their earnings and the local uneducated. This is the operation of the free market philosophy. The extent to which the privileged status of the educated motivates others, not so privileged, to become educated may be regarded as one reason for greater demand for education provision but it could also be a source of resentment.

Psacharopoulos shows income levels determined by education in developed and developing countries.

Percentage Income Difference by Education Level in Developed and Developing Countries

Table:(4. 5)

<u>Educational</u> <u>Level</u>	<u>Developed</u> <u>countries</u>	<u>Developing</u> <u>countries</u>
Primary	100	100
Secondary	140	239
Higher	219	639

Source: Psacharopoulos, 1985.

The difference in income can be seen immediately from this table. The secondary graduate in the developing country earns more than twice as much as the primary graduate and the difference in earnings between them is greater than the difference between the higher education graduate and the primary education graduate in the developed countries. From the table it can also be seen that in the developing countries the income of the higher education graduate is over two and a half times that of the secondary education graduate and over six times that of the primary education graduate. In the developed countries the income of the higher education graduate is only 2.19 times that of the primary educated and less than twice that of the secondary educated.

Many arguments have been advanced to explain this disparity in incomes, in developing countries, including the need to attract the necessary skills from overseas, but after the departure of expatriates that explanation needs to be revised since the disparities continue.

Teacher Education by Distance in Jamaica.

Traditionally teacher education in Jamaica is delivered through Teacher Education Colleges. The University of the West Indies Education Faculty now also makes a contribution and the University of the West Indies Distance Teaching Experiment (UWIDITE) also uses its distance education network for teacher education but this only began in 1984. UWIDITE is mainly concerned with the upgrading of specialist teacher education which is explained in Chapter Five.

In 1991 Miss Lucine Taylor informed a Commonwealth of Learning consultancy meeting that distance education was used for in-service training from 1973-78, to provide an opportunity for teachers to complete further qualifications. Many of those teachers who completed their qualifications through this programme are still teaching in Jamaican schools and their experience, with that of the people who set up and administered the programme should be helpful.

In 1973, the concern of the Jamaican education authorities was to train a group of 700 teachers who had certificates but who also required further qualifications. According to one interviewee:

these were teachers who were trained before things like curriculum development, measurement and evaluation was introduced into the teacher education syllabus. A new certificate will be issued to those

teachers completing the course successfully. Some of our Education Officers will also be on the course because they need to be upgraded as they did not cover this area at college and need it if they are to supervise teachers successfully. (Interviewee: 015)

The type of distance teaching organisation was also important because it was regarded as uneconomic to train 700 people over a period of two years, acquiring equipment that was very expensive, and then close down the operation. (Greig and O'Rourke, 1991). A pilot study was set in motion to determine how well the project would work when put into operation on a permanent basis.

Permanence of a distance education organisation was justified because qualified teachers leave teaching for other jobs or for other countries at the rate of 18-20 per cent per year. Whilst training the 700 was important, it was necessary to bear in mind that the shortage of teachers would continue for some time and distance teaching could be used to minimise the adverse effect of that shortage because the teachers would continue teaching while they upgraded their education.

The type and organisation of distance education in the present circumstances is influenced by cost and by the most effective way of reaching the students. A print-based resource was seen as a very effective way of reaching students who may be scattered across the country. Regional centres strategically located make it possible for students to collect and use print based materials without having to travel long distances.

Consideration was also given to teleconferencing and the use of telephone, influenced by the University of the West Indies Distance Teaching Experiment (UWIDITE), but rejected because of the inadequacy and unreliability of the telephone for internal communication. The question of internal communication is important because there appears to be little difficulty in the communication between private enterprises with multinational connections. The remedy for the inadequacy of internal telephone communication, it is suggested, will arrive with another injection of technology in the form of fibre optics. This is also the 'remedy' for difficulties experienced with the UWIDITE system which affect its ability to expand services in the region.

Part of the problem that Jamaica has in organising a functioning distance education unit is finding the money that is needed. The situation is not

helped by the kinds of funding arrangements that exist for the distance education organisations. It is also part of the problem of what makes staff retention difficult. Haag points out in the Commonwealth of Learning Report that:

External agencies tend to fund capital projects rather than operating costs, yet one of the most significant road-blocks to implementing distance education is covering staff costs rather than lack of technology or technical expertise. (Haag and O'Rourke, 1991:10)

Because staff costs are a large and an ongoing item of expenditure, difficulties occur in maintaining them. In these circumstances programmes may have to be abandoned on the basis that staff costs cannot be carried by the government indefinitely.

Graham-Brown, arguing for long term funding arrangements to give some form of security to the recipients of aid, points out that:

International aid is certainly important as long as it is not tied to international interests. If one is offered funding tied to external interests and not to actual needs of the country it is not acceptable, but (at the same time) one is faced with the problem of economic dependence (Graham-Brown, 1991: 299).

Recipients in some Central and South American countries encounter problems with aid, when that aid is not intended for development purposes. Graham-Brown points out that:

In Central America suspicions are entertained, especially in Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras, where there is a long history of USAID [United States Agency for International Development] geared to 'combating communism' rather than promoting social justice. European donors are generally less subject to these suspicions. (Graham-Brown, 1991: 298)

Budhoo suggests that there should be a clear separation between aid for development and aid intended to get the diplomatic support of the recipient or for ideological or military reasons. (Budhoo, 1973).

Sentiments expressed by some interviewees support the view that aid should not have political conditions. For example, it was said:

We know what needs to be done but we don't have the money to do it. So we really are grateful for any assistance we can get. Sometimes there

are conditions about how we spend the money but you know if you have to take people's money to fix up your development then I suppose it is reasonable for them to have a say in what you do, although to subject yourself to their conditions can be humiliating. (Interviewee: 014)

Most of the people interviewed work in the public sector and in education and have themselves been connected with aid agencies in one form or another. Therefore they have a reasonable knowledge of the role of aid and the kinds of conditions that can be demanded, with recipients' advice being ignored, even in conditions where the major part of the financial burden falls on the recipient.

Use of Education Media and the Education Media Unit

The use of electronic or other media for distance education in Jamaica can be the subject of lively debate but the course providers are keen to maintain a sense of reality. Discussions about the effectiveness of print supplemented by video tape material for certain curriculum areas in terms of the visual effects seem to be continuous but disorganised. This is evident from the number of times the matter was raised in discussions by interviewees. It needs to be remembered that radio, which forms part of the backbone of communication, can play a vital role in distance education and may not be very costly.

The Ministry of Education takes direct responsibility for a substantial part of the upgrading of teacher education, using distance teaching methods. It is based on one particular education establishment, the Church Teachers' College, in which UWIDITE has a distance education terminal. In the mid-nineteen sixties, according to a Ministry of Education interviewee, a radio broadcast for educational purposes provided a service to schools for which training was given, with the help of United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

The Ministry of Education felt their Education Broadcasting Service, the name given to the distance education service at that time, was a success and its use for teacher education followed in 1973. This was a single issue project, according to Haag and O'Rourke:

designed to provide an opportunity for teachers to complete further qualifications. Many teachers who completed their qualifications through this programme are still teaching in Jamaican schools and their experience, with that of the people who set up and administer the

programme, should prove very valuable for the planning and implementation of the post certificate course. (Haag and O'Rourke, 1991:6)

The establishment of a Media Education Unit in Jamaica is considered a necessity by the government but the question of funding is always a pressing one. In order to get funding the government of Jamaica has been involved in discussions with bi-lateral lending agencies described as being favourable to the development of a Media Education Unit.

An interviewee involved with aspects of the negotiation indicated that a lot of hope is placed on the outcome of that discussion because of the positive effect that success would have on training facilities. The comments are that:

one bilateral lending agency has been having discussions with the government of Jamaica and including the Caribbean Institute of Mass Communication (CARIMAC) which is a faculty at the University of the West Indies. The agency is for development of the Media Education Unit and if it is funded there will be a role for the Caribbean Institute of Mass Communication, in the training of teachers in media education. (Interviewee: 019)

Individuals in the education system show a positive attitude to the possibility of bi-lateral assistance for the establishment of a Media Education Unit. There is a strong belief that it will be a factor in enabling Caribbean people to develop their own 'Caribbeanness' in education. One interviewee involved in curriculum planning said:

in our situation in the Caribbean we have to develop our own vision of what we want. We do not want to jettison things for jettison's sake but we have to use this unit and the facilities it provides to clarify our own purpose and course. (Interviewee: 017)

The interviewee recognises the possibility of resistance, describing that resistance as coming from some members of the 'old school', [the people who had the influence on educational developments earlier] who regard colonial educational inheritance as precious and possibly superior. However confidence is expressed about positive changes in the future favouring a system of education that serves the needs of the Caribbean first.

Budhlall, in a Ministry of Education Report, states the background for putting in place an Educational Media Unit:

Recognising the potential of educational media to improve the quality of education, the Ministry is desirous of re-establishing a unit with responsibility for providing multimedia learning material support to

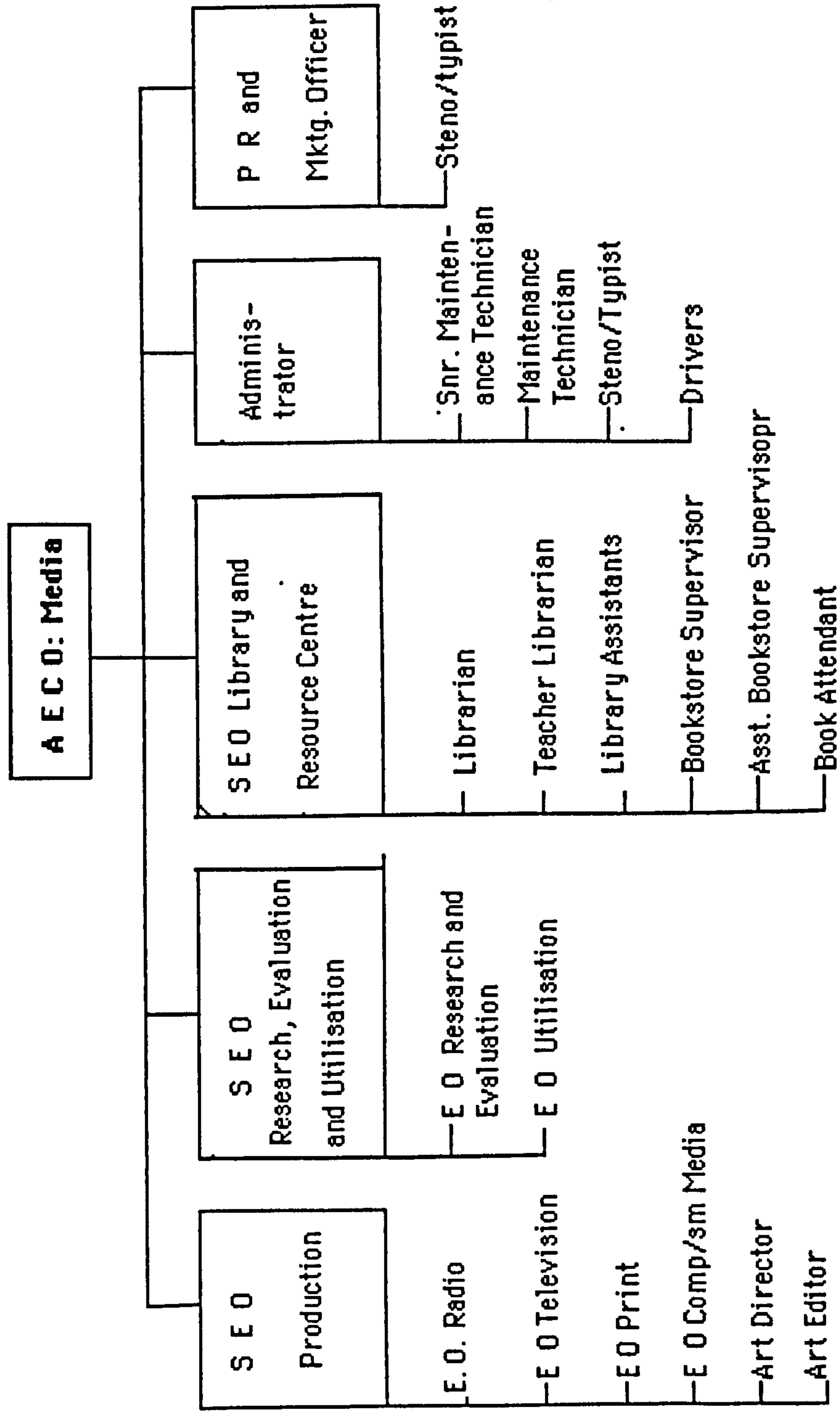
the education system. In addition a Professional Development Unit (PDU) is to be established with the objective of improving professional standards throughout the system. It is envisaged that Distance Education Methodology will form a major part of the instructional technique used by the Professional Development Unit. (Budhlall, 1991: 1)

The professional development which is being considered includes the professional development of Education Officers and Principals and has as its objectives the following:

1. to teach concepts, attitudes and skills
2. to reinforce concepts attitudes and skills
3. to motivate students
4. to enable individualised instruction to take place.

In the new dispensation, where teacher qualification is to be upgraded it is important that Principals are as well qualified as the teachers who complete their post-certificate courses. A report was prepared for the establishment of an Education Media Unit detailing how such a unit could be organised.

Fig. 4.1 Educational Media Unit Organisation Chart.



The need for an education media unit that caters for the training of teachers and students at the present time becomes apparent because of the high percentage of school-age children attending school and in need of an improved standard of education. In 1989, according to the Survey of Living Conditions in Jamaica, the percentage of 3 to 11 year-olds attending primary and preparatory schools was 82 per cent and for 12 to 14 year-olds the figure was 72.9 per cent. This attendance rate was evenly spread across the urban and rural areas of Jamaica. For the urban areas of Kingston and St. Andrew the attendance rate was 78.8 per cent and 70 per cent for the rural areas.

This rate of attendance is only marginally affected by background or status. The classification is divided into five categories [quintiles] with the first quintile the poorest section of Jamaican society and the fifth quintile the wealthiest. Thus 81.3 per cent of the poorest 3 to 11 years-olds were attending primary school and 77.1 per cent of the wealthiest.

In the secondary schools the attendance rate for the first quintile [the poorest twenty per cent] was 67.2 per cent and for the fifth quintile [the richest twenty per cent] 78.3 per cent. (Survey of Living Conditions in Jamaica, 1989: 20-21).

With this rate of attendance, any questions about illiterate students coming out of schools, [an observation made in 1991; see chapter 6] needs explanation in terms of the relationship between enrolment, attendance and learning. If attendance is erratic then remedial action will be needed later on to make up the deficiencies in the student's education. As important is the need to reverse any regression that took place as a result of inadequate educational foundation.

Miller has argued that the approach to education in the Caribbean cannot be tackled on the same basis as for the rest of the developing countries of the world because the problems are not the same. International development and funding agencies tend to concentrate on the provision of primary education but he argues that:

such policy prescriptions ... are likely to have only marginal relevance to the Caribbean...because such an approach is out of step with Caribbean realities. (Miller, 1992: 204)

There may be some misunderstanding of what constitute Caribbean realities because funding primary education through the provision of better qualified teachers is specifically what Miller suggests is needed. The

Governments, in the meantime, continue to accept funding indirectly for primary education. In the case of Jamaica the Commonwealth of Learning is providing the Ministry of Education with assistance, in teacher upgrading. Assistance is being given with the establishment of an Education Media Unit and the implementation schedule suggested is as follows:

Implementation Schedule of the Education Media Unit.

Table: 4. 6

Activity	1991						1992.				
							92				
	Jl	Au	Se	Oc	No	De	Ja	Fe	Ma	Ap	Ma
Establish EMU											
Establish Posts	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____					
Appoint ACEO				_____	_____	_____	_____				
Appoint SOEs				_____			_____	_____			
Seek Training	_____	_____	_____		_____	_____	_____				
Tm Sn. Staff			_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____			
ID Office			_____	_____							
Refurbish Office					_____	_____					
Furnish Office				_____			_____	_____			
Order Equipt.					_____						
Appoint Staff							_____	_____	_____		
Train Staff									_____	_____	_____
Begin Operation											_____

Training both staff and students is an important function for the Jamaican Education Service. For basic education Miller argues that the Caribbean Economic Community (CARICOM) has identified certain growth areas within the world economy and that for advantage to be taken of this development the quality of education must improve, with distance education playing a major role.

Because of the position of distance education in the hierarchy of educational development projects, it was the last one to be developed and implemented as policy. One interviewee suggested:

This present development was only a pilot project and some students were expected to finish in June 1993. All students take the same exams and there is flexibility for students to finish in June 1993 or take four years to complete their course. (Interviewee: 017)

This flexibility was possible on the basis of the status of the students. Some students were full-time, others part-time, some who did their course during school vacations and some who were 'Challenge' students. The name *Challenge* is frequently used in Jamaica to indicate the existence of opportunities for anyone with an educational background to obtain an education diploma by passing the requisite exams.

In discussing the medium for distance education Budhlall refers to the trend of some African distance educators away from television and towards radio mainly because of the expense involved. She states:

Radio is seen as a major potential resource for the education system. In order for this potential to be fulfilled it is estimated that the following air time will be needed: primary level 20 hours; secondary level 10 hours; and Teacher upgrading 12 hours. (Budhlall, 1991; 30).

The disposal of government assets, including some radio and television broadcasting, could make the task of educational broadcasting for many hours per week problematic. Disposal of assets is a condition imposed on governments by lending agencies in return for loan guarantees. Existing commercial broadcasting agencies are not always willing to broadcast educational programmes and this adds to the difficulties facing educational broadcasting.

A question about the possibility of the government re-establishing a radio station especially for educational broadcast purposes, possibly with revenue potential through advertising restricted to things educational, brought this response from one person with interest in the Education Media Unit:

Well I don't think the commercial interest would stand for it and quite possibly the lending agencies would not either. If the government resisted they could have their lines of credit threatened and if that is the case no Third World country could handle it. (Interviewee: 019)

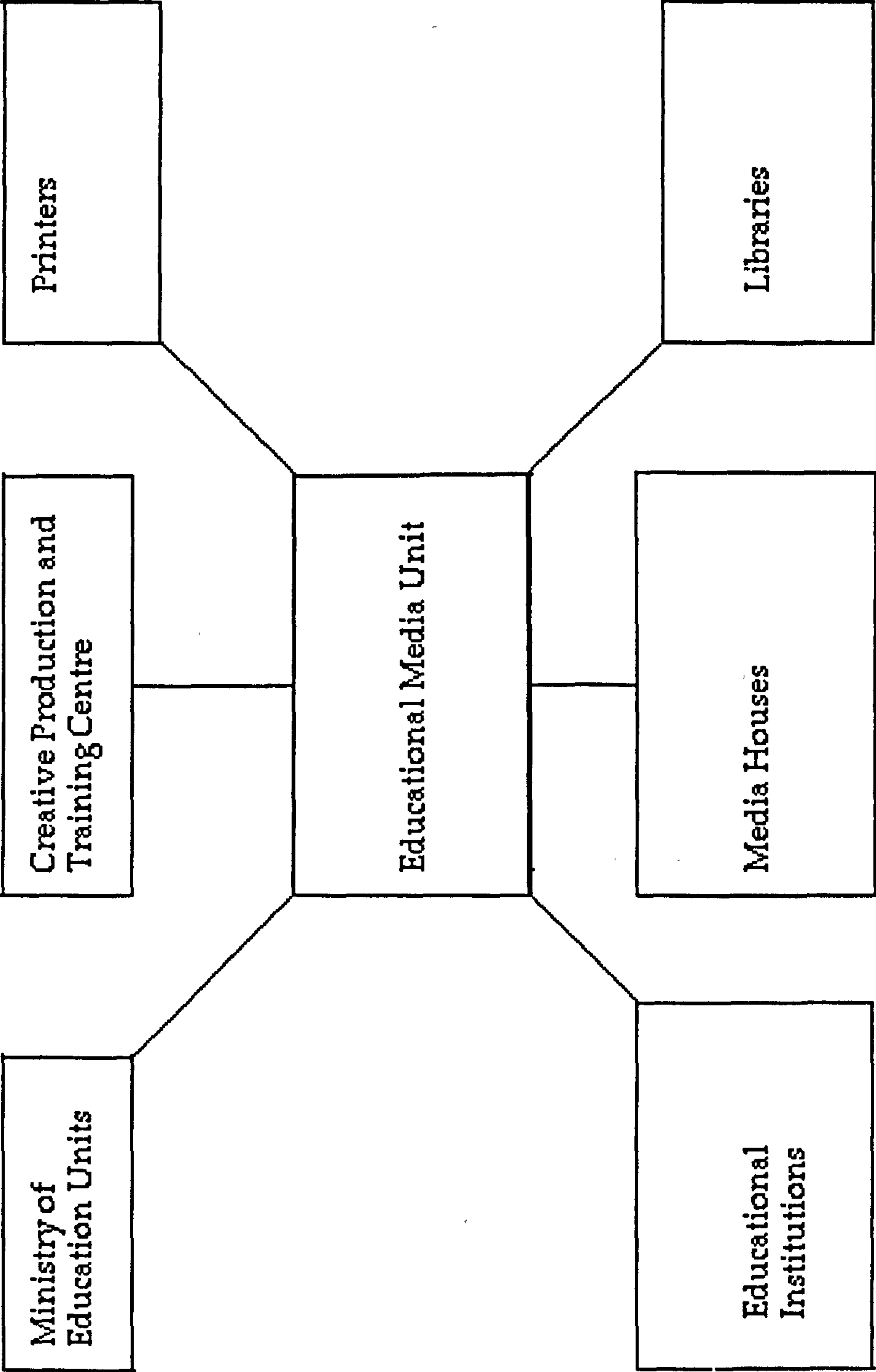
The use of radio was seen as cost effective if air time was made available to the education service by the establishment of an 'FM' sub carrier system which works by:

Using part of the unused FM band of an existing station and requires that special receivers be placed in schools as the signal cannot be received by regular radios (Budhlall, 1991:30).

The figure below shows the Education Media Unit and link organisations.

Education Media Unit

Fig. 4. 2.



Earlier on in this chapter it was mentioned that the equipment at the Creative Production and Training Centre initially was owned by the Educational Broadcasting Services. The aim now is to put that equipment back into use, with the Education Media Unit. It is as if the situation has come full circle in the space of ten years, and as one interviewee remarked:

We had all this equipment a long time ago and were steadily building up our expertise but it was changed and we have to go over it again and at extra cost. The 'luxury of continuity' is somewhat elusive for us. (Interviewee: 026)

The changes, are consequences of political circumstances but continuity is not totally elusive. A degree of 'expertise' in using media equipment exists and is accessible to all government departments especially the Ministry of Education when radio and television programmes are to be transmitted.

Conclusion

Distance education for development has difficulties of a political and financial nature for developing countries. The political difficulties are grounded in the ideology of the developing countries. This ideology is inherited from past relationships with industrial countries and appears as being very deep-rooted in people's consciousness. The ideological inheritance is similar to that of the countries from which they became independent. With that kind of ideological background, economic policies and practices are also inherited. The suggestion is that the economic and educational policies are part, and belong to a package of ideological inheritance.

The inheritance is one of high unemployment, high rates of illiteracy, low productivity of labour and producers of primary products geared to the needs of the countries from which they sought their independence and the requirements of multinational investors. Michael Manley, a former Prime Minister of Jamaica, illustrates the point with the story of the behaviour of one multinational investor.

He writes:

Reynolds Metal Company, which operated in Jamaica for over 30 years mining bauxite for processing into alumina and aluminium in the United States, discovered that the nature of the world aluminium industry had changed ... Reynolds simply ceased Jamaican bauxite

mining operation without notice to the government ... destroying revenue expectation, dislocated workers and their families and upset the aspirations of entire communities (Manley,1991: 100)

The code of conduct worked out and agreed to by the United Nations required that notice be given in such eventualities but there was no back up legislation in the United States of America because this code of conduct was not in accordance with the spirit of 'free enterprise'.

From this base Jamaicans are attempting to develop and expand their distance education and other services without the certainty of the resources required to set in motion and sustain that development. They are then obliged to turn to the countries from which they have obtained their independence for assistance, and in so doing end up in a contradiction which is difficult to resolve.

Development has not materialised because the income from the goods they are able to produce and export is insufficient to provide the surplus necessary for re-investment. This inability to create and build surpluses for re-investment has led to borrowing and an accumulation of debts which effectively stifle further development and investment in education.

For many of the development projects developing countries wish to put in place, including distance education projects, requests for aid are made to the developed countries, whose policies have left developing countries in a state of under-development. It is a contradiction to assume that the policies that leave a country underdeveloped can also be used to improve it but it is one that developing countries seem destined to follow or are irretrievably sucked into.

This contradiction continues because the under-developed economies are locked into and unable to escape from the dominant ideology, that is the capitalist ideology, that has helped to bring new nations into being in a state of relative poverty and from which people in the developing world want to escape. The unequal distribution of wealth and educational opportunities which characterise the conditions within developed countries is also applied internationally.

In identifying education as a common factor in development, developing countries are also attempting to attain the identical technical standards of western capitalist countries without the established material base for such

technical achievements. Educated experts are expensively produced and then poached by the already developed countries. Experts are also highly paid in relation to the general population in the developing countries in which they live.

This then produces a continuous shortage of the human resources which are regarded as essential to development and countries that receive aid are therefore locked in a cycle of poverty within which they are obliged to function and from which donors sometimes appear to provide temporary 'respite' in the form of sophisticated technologies which have no technical base in the recipient countries.

The nature of internal politics in Jamaica is also determined by the scarcity of resources. The ideology of the functioning political groupings are part of the dominant world ideology. They are committed to 'free market forces' as a way of solving the problems of resources to fund educational projects. They talk about the 'level playing field' without acknowledging that internationally and domestically a level playing field does not exist and that if it were to exist in the present or the future, then social and political intervention would be necessary to bring it about. It is the social intervention that developing countries believe they cannot afford by themselves and because of that their time is spent on indulgence in political tinkering which does not necessarily improve anything.

The government's support for education is social intervention for the extension of educational benefits but this intervention is not extended into other areas on the same scale, where social intervention is also necessary.

The scarcity of resources and the absence of a competing ideology produce a reality in which there is a limited range of policy and issues from which to choose. Choice is project based and in the Jamaican situation any programme that is set in motion by one political regime is unlikely to be maintained under another regime. The resources that are available are insufficient to keep past projects operating at full strength as well as paying for new ones. An incoming government seems to make a point of introducing projects that are new and different from those of the outgoing, as a way of showing its 'uniqueness'. In doing that resources may be misplaced or even wasted.

In Jamaica distance education has been used for the upgrading of teacher

education in conditions where some of this upgrading would not otherwise be available. A number of the teachers so upgraded have been able to provide a better service to schools, some of which are rural. If that trend continues with the next group of teachers so upgraded, there could be immediate benefits to the teachers and school students in the rural areas showing that distance education methods applied to the development of teacher education and upgrading has real potential.

Developments of an economic nature that come about at the same time as an improvement in teacher education cannot however be attributed to distance education alone, but should be viewed in connection with the kind of policies pursued collectively by government and community.

Chapter 5 - The University of the West Indies Distance Teaching Experiment (UWIDITE) and Distance Education

Introduction.

UWIDITE is one of the concerns of this thesis. It is one of the main distance teaching organisations in Jamaica. Its major function is to make higher education in the West Indies available to as wide a range of people as possible who are able to benefit from higher education at professional, certificate and undergraduate levels of study. Any discussion on distance education, particularly as it affects professional training, must therefore consider the contribution that UWIDITE is making to educational development in Jamaica and to the whole Caribbean region.

As part of the University of the West Indies UWIDITE operates across a number of faculties. It functions partly as a provider of higher education, at undergraduate and post graduate levels, uses teleconference facilities with various professional groups and functions as a means of communication between the University Colleges in the campus countries and extra mural centres in the non-campus countries. It caters for part of the educational 'elite'; those who have already acquired qualifications or are in search of qualifications that will enable them to gain University admission. It is not a system accessible to all Caribbean people irrespective of qualification and location.

The purpose of this chapter, then, is to investigate and describe the development of UWIDITE, its impact on the demand for higher education in Jamaica and its attempt to satisfy that demand.

To understand the context in which UWIDITE functions, it is necessary to look at the establishment of the university, how it developed along with previous forms of distance education and the general accessibility of higher education to the non-campus countries. As in most development and expansion situations, contradictions, confusions and duplications occur and the UWI has had and may still be having its fair share of all three.

What are regarded as the duplications are the previous attempts at education expansion which still exist as part of the package that makes education accessible. This chapter enables us to look at these attempts before looking in detail at UWIDITE itself. It begins with the establishment of the

University of the West Indies, how it developed and some of the problems associated with that development, its determination to meet regional commitments and to be seen as an institution with a variety of ways of offering access to higher education through Outreach courses and Challenge exams attached to its Extra-Mural Department. The first attempt at using radio through the Radio Education Unit (REU) is also examined.

UWIDITE, which could be regarded as the culmination of the University's efforts to provide higher education throughout the Caribbean, is examined against the background of other attempts to extend the educational reach of the University. This is important in the situations where resources in the form of money are not in abundant supply and where there is population growth and a growing demand for education.

The mid to late 1960's and up to the mid 1970's was a period of intense political activity and debate in the Caribbean about freedom and development and central to that debate was the provision of education, as a matter of entitlement, for the region's people. The University campuses with students and professors were an integral part of that debate and could at points in the period be described as in the vanguard of educational demand and change. It is mainly through the comments of the interviewees that the picture of the University of the West Indies and UWIDITE emerges.

Establishing the University of the West Indies.

The University College of the West Indies was established in 1947 as a college of the University of London. It got its charter in 1962 and became the University of the West Indies. The period in which it obtained its charter was a period of extraordinary political developments in the Caribbean. The West Indian Federation had been dissolved one year earlier and immediately following the achievement of university status was the independence of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago at the beginning and end of August, 1962, respectively. [Trinidad and Tobago is one country].

The failure in 1961 of Caribbean leaders to develop the West Indian Federation through to a total 'West Indian' identity did not have an immediate adverse effect on the already established University of the West Indies. Political failure to keep the Federation together, especially among what are described as the two strongest member states of the area, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, did not drastically affect co-operation in the

education arena as far as higher education was concerned.

From the beginning of the University in 1962, with its status changed from University College to University, the issue of Caribbean development was uppermost in the consciousness of political leaders and academics. It was a time of excitement and hope that through education, understanding and development would occur, for the benefit of the whole region. Nettleford says this about the period:

At mid-century the founding of the University College and Institute of Economic and Social Research (ISER) put West Indian brains and character at the service of their country. Within a few years West Indian social scientists were providing the information required for self-emancipation and economic development. (Nettleford, 1991 :123).

From the beginning, then, the objectives were 'clear' to the academics, and the West Indies was being described as 'our country,' even if the general population was uncertain of the connections between what was being done at the University with what needed to be achieved in the direction of the West Indian identity and consciousness.

The writing of West Indian history and the identification of a West Indian tradition inevitably became the responsibility of the new academics of the UWI. The basis of a tradition of independent thought and actions was identified in the Rastafari. This 'independent' tradition, based upon the development and education that had taken place over the centuries of colonial rule was somewhat uneven and confused but it provided a challenge.

Sherlock and Nettleford saw the Rastafarians as people who were conscious of a gulf existing between them and the 'middle and upper class' Jamaican through the religion of Babylon. (Babylon means the colonial power, England). According to Nettleford:

The Rastafarian portrayed in vivid human terms the primary importance of the cultural dimension of development. The process begins in the mind of I-man. (Rastafarians refuse to use the term *me* because to them *me* is subservient). Intuitively they knew this. They tapped directly into the creative pulse of their country, its spiritual life, both individual and universal, full of contradictions and with an organic potential for growth and development. (Nettleford, 1991:125).

The Rastafarian made the questioning of western values known, even if

this was done in a way that seemed confusing to non-Rastafarians. It provided the kick start that the West Indian social scientists needed, on the path to 'discovering' the nature of the West Indian and how this discovery would relate to their future development and growth. It was the spiritual dimension that is so often missing from research and discussions on education and development issues.

The University of the West Indies went through the nineteen sixties and seventies in turmoil because it was finding itself, as a University of the West Indies, making its mark in a world context whilst pursuing and developing a Caribbean identity. Its achievements should be understood in its continued existence as the University of the West Indies in spite of the failure of politicians and the break-up of the West Indies Federation. Structures remain, in the form of a university, which are reminders of that attempt at creating a regional identity. The demand for closer cooperation is again being revived.

As a regional University one of its functions is to provide higher education and training throughout the region, but the University was established with campuses in only three countries of the region: Cave Hill in Barbados, Mona in Jamaica and St. Augustine in Trinidad and Tobago. That situation has not changed and the term "campus" and "non-campus" countries is being used to describe the situation that exists up to the present. However University Extra-Mural Centres were established in a number of the non-campus countries, to provide access to higher education for the inhabitants of those countries.

Separation of Campuses

Separation of the campuses with direct government responsibility for the University College in each campus country, may have caused problems especially in how equitable payment of academic staff is determined. Pay negotiations are separate and have led to anomalies to the extent that the staff in all three campus countries could be on different salaries after making adjustment through the exchange rate. The Principal at Mona campus was recorded as saying:

a professor in Jamaica could be earning less than a lecturer in Cave Hill. (Gleaner, 04. 11 92.)

Although these anomalies exist, the academic and senior administrative staff seem committed to a regional University. This commitment also

extends to students with respect to the campus where certain courses and levels of courses are located. For example the last two years of a law degree course are located in Cave Hill, final two years of an engineering science degree in St. Augustine, medicine in Mona and so on with some overlapping.

The students for those courses that are not completed in the country of recruitment must travel to and therefore reside in the country in which the degree is completed. Although this policy may increase the cost of a degree to certain students it emphasises the regional nature of the University and provides the basis for contact between young undergraduates and future leaders in the region. Lecturers and professors undertake travel to the campus countries for the periods required for them to complete their work. The non-campus countries 'benefit' from the attendance of lecturers at the regional centres from time to time.

Access to Higher Education

The University of the West Indies was committed to finding some mechanism for getting teaching to the non-campus countries. Using UWIDITE as a bench mark, an interviewee who is involved with the extra-mural department states:

Long before UWIDITE the University was committed to finding some mechanism to give teaching to the non-campus countries. This goes back a long way. We were urged to prepare an external studies project. When we prepared it, submitted the estimate, they (the governments) said the estimates were too high. Someone said if these countries wish to have some external studies why don't we just give it to them. (Interviewee 004)

The University was trying to conduct a teaching programme and was able to draw upon the examples of the University of London which some staff had experienced through external examinations. What was previously on offer by the University of London was a degree, if you could pass their exams, but the University of London had no teaching responsibility. It simply provided the syllabus and the rest was up to the student. The University of the West Indies took the same line: it offered the syllabi, and registered the students who could sit the examination. How they got the tuition was their responsibility.

Members of the University's staff, known as resident tutors, were already

established in the small countries and as soon as the University adopted the policy of allowing students to take external exams the resident tutors saw the opportunities for providing tuition, on a fee paying basis.

A senior member of the University and a member of UWIDITE's policy making body said:

UWIDITE came in after that and provided additional support and was able to say, [to the students and tutors] you have been organising lectures yourself, now we will help and give you lectures straight from the campuses so that in a sense after that UWIDITE became an important means of delivery.(Interviewee 004).

Lectures delivered by UWIDITE were received at the Extra-Mural Centres, described by Lalor as:

the focal points for the University in the non-campus countries. The Centres are integral parts of the Department of Extra Mural Studies which maintains the largest single outreach programme of the University. The Centres are managed by Resident Tutors whose responsibilities include the development and maintenance of educational programmes appropriate to the needs of each particular country, especially in adult education (Lalor and Marrett, 1986: 5).

The education programmes provided by the Extra-Mural Centres are part of the University outreach work and are a form of distance education. Through this outreach work access is provided to education at various levels including higher education to the non-campus countries.

Outreach

Outreach is a form of distance education, that preceded UWIDITE, developed by the University of the West Indies as a way of reaching people outside of the line of direct and continuous contact with the University. It is therefore important to understand its role and functions when discussing the development of distance education in the West Indies and the University's attempts to communicate with the broad mass of West Indian people about its role as a University. It is also important as one of the bodies through which the University takes the experiences and ideas of individuals to the West Indian people.

There is no easy explanation of what constitutes Outreach. It is an example of how organisations develop in the West Indies, sometimes duplicating the work of another existing organisation. In an interview with a university

teacher who also participates in the work of UWIDITE, an explanation was given of how Outreach may be viewed. It was suggested:

Go back to the original situation. The University was just the University of the West Indies, Mona, until 1963. The students and staff were all residing on campus. Then there was a question of how this place related to the outside. So early on they set up the extra centres in the non-campus countries so that when these countries pay money they see something. It therefore means something outside the campus enclave. Those are the Extra-Mural centres which really was a public relations exercise worth bearing in mind because UWIDITE is the high-tech version of the public relations of the era. All of them are different forms of the same thing, including Extra-mural, UWIDITE, and Challenge. (Interviewee 017).

An interpretation of Outreach is that the University takes what it has to offer, its education programmes, to the people via the air waves and through its establishments, the Extra-Mural Centres, to the people who need them. Another immediate interpretation is that the University makes some of its facilities available to those who are willing to come and use them on the Campus, but who are not students. This is an understanding of Outreach that enables the University to say that it is attempting to have a relationship with the ordinary citizen.

An example of this was given by an interviewee who said:

We have as part of our Outreach programme a series of teleconferences for sixth form students who are going to be taking their 'A' levels this year and this series provides the sixth formers with contact with subject experts, in various areas. For instance we have had teleconference with students on the economic situation in Europe and the Caribbean and what is the outcome of the question of economic unity that is currently taking place. (Interviewee 014).

Outreach then extends to school students and to a small extent helps to reduce the negative effect on schools of the shortage of certain subject specialists.

These are not the only understandings of Outreach but they are shared by everyone and in all the discussions and interviews Outreach is seen as an integral part of the functions of the Extra-Mural Centres. Nettleford sees the expansion of Outreach:

through the Extra-Mural Department (women's studies and social work in particular) and para-professional courses (health sciences,

supervisory management) attracting large numbers in urban Trinidad and Jamaica. (Sherlock and Nettleford, 1990: 222-3)

There is an identifiable connection with the Extra Mural Centres through which some courses are made available. The range of courses and lectures classified as Outreach work may also be available by other methods such as radio, public lectures and television and Outreach then becomes those courses and educational programmes offered by the University of the West Indies that are obtainable externally through the Extra-Mural Centres, schools and other sources by non-university individuals in the campus and non-campus countries. The Extra-Mural Department, now called 'The School of Continuing Education', also accepts *challenges* from potential students as part of their outreach work.

Challenge

With Challenge, the University minimises any charge of elitism by accepting on undergraduate courses, in the second year, students who are interested in pursuing a degree course but feel they are in advance educationally of the first year of a three year degree course.

Challenge is not a course. It is a facility. Potential students who issue challenges to the University, agree to sit the University's first year undergraduate exams at the University in their chosen subjects along with all students sitting that particular exam. The responsibility for preparing for the examination is that of the student. The Challenge student is not a distance education student of the university but unofficially he or she may be in a position to use some of the distance education facilities if the course in which the student is to be examined appears in a distance education programme. This may be done by one student assisting another through the provision of University course materials and lecture notes.

It was explained in this way by an interviewee who has been involved with UWIDITE for some considerable time:

Some courses we offer by UWIDITE straight from the campus, others on the ground. In practice the two merge. Technically you can do almost any course in Challenge but you can't in UWIDITE. We don't offer everything in UWIDITE, but whatever we offer in UWIDITE a Challenge student will take it. (Interviewee 016)

There seem to be many avenues through which students may gain access to university education. Challenge is more comprehensive than, for example, UWIDITE because Challenge appears as the original attempt to offer an

alternative route to university education with examples taken from past external degrees of the University of London. Another interviewee explained:

This is very difficult because UWIDITE is a form of Challenge, but there are people who consider themselves Challenge and as separate from UWIDITE. So Challenge was the original University outreach programme. There are people outside the University, say he wants to get some certification from you; we are not going to draw on your resources. We find our own resources, organise ourselves and then challenge you through your exams. We want you to treat us like any other student, we pass or we fail. (Interviewee 025)

The Challenge facility applies to most of the University courses and is also described as a public relations exercise which shows the University to be a place that seeks to make as much contribution to the society as possible, rather than be an 'ivory tower' in which 'mad professors' wander about not doing much but being well paid for it.

In its determination to be seen as playing its part in educating the Caribbean people a significant amount of overlap has occurred in the way courses are offered. A leaflet describing the function of Outreach, Challenge, UWIDITE, Extra-mural, Continuing Education and noting particularly areas of overlap should be useful; or indeed some streamlining of what is on offer and the medium through which it may be obtained would assist in making the descriptions more manageable and provide easier accessibility to what is on offer when and if required. It may also help in avoiding unnecessary duplication of information and create the situation in which courses can be put under specific labels.

The Radio Education Unit (REU)

So far an attempt has been made to explain the meaning of various labels attached to courses and the overlap that occurs but other attempts at distance education at earlier times are also important. One source of distance education offered by the University, but which is not now in the headlines and which people often forget to mention, except for two interviewees, is the Radio Education Unit (REU).

The REU was established in 1954, according to a University of the West Indies information sheet. There is not as yet any literature giving detailed description and functions of the REU in terms of its past contribution, its present work or how the future for it is viewed, but it was described by one

interviewee, who has substantial connections with this unit, as something that:

used to be part of the Extra-Mural Department, which is now called the School of Continuing Education and Caribbean Institute of Mass Communication (CARIMAC) which is part of the faculty of Arts and General Studies and UWIDITE, these three entities making up the University's communication infra-structure on the Mona campus. It includes the Public Relations so perhaps I should say four, of which the REU is the oldest. (Interviewee 014)

Getting information about the REU and about its past and present functions is impossible without a visit to the University. One could in fact visit the University and depart from it without being aware of the existence of the REU and the richness of its resources and contribution to Caribbean life, because there is as yet no publication in the Caribbean detailing its work.

The University Charter gave it the responsibility to contribute to development and growth in the widest sense, culturally, economically and otherwise. The distance education facilities it offers the people of the Caribbean through the Radio Education Unit (REU) CARIMAC and later UWIDITE are an attempt to meet those responsibilities.

The facilities and expertise at the REU are now used to record all public lectures and debates at the Mona campus. It is also involved in school education and some of its work is very popular with Caribbean Examination Certificate (CXC) students. The claim is that 480,000 CXC students are interested in some of its programmes for educational purposes . In addition, transcripts of some of the programmes it makes, especially on health education matters, are available free. One interviewee spoke of the REU's link with the Diabetic Association of Jamaica:

People can get transcripts free of cost. Sometimes it is linked up with a project like the University's diabetes project. They in turn link up with the Jamaican Diabetic Association which in turn links up with the International Association. There is a lot of other work and experimenting to the point where health matters, so called life enhancing themes, are getting full exposure. (Interviewee 009)

The REU records all the public lectures at the University, (ones to which the public are invited and have free access) and stores these contributions as available resources at the University. They may also be used for broadcasting, a role the REU assumed at the time it was established and has

continued with up to the present time. It is influential and popular with school students and teachers but there is no direct broadcast to schools at the moment.

The functions of the REU may have been reduced since the acquisition of more modern communication technology, for educational and other broadcasting purposes, but it continues to function usefully at the post-graduate level, where it offers research facilities. It also does two educational broadcasts for two fifteen minute periods per week to the Jamaican community, offering education on a variety of topics in which ordinary people have an interest.

Although radio is not one of the new and 'exciting' technologies, it is still widely used because it is affordable and therefore available to many people on low incomes. Halliwell pointed out that by 1982:

Education by radio, which had successfully challenged the correspondence course monopoly two generations earlier, appeared to be somewhat outdated. It was therefore remarkable that the World Bank and the Jamaican Ministry of Health decided at this time to undertake a substantial research project into the use of radio for distance education. They had an urgent problem. In the field of medicine new knowledge was emerging all the time, and there was a constant need to update even the best qualified personnel especially those in remote regions. ... Over US \$1,000,000 was to be spent constructing, carrying out and testing a carefully conceived in-service educational programme by radio for 324 qualified rural primary health care workers — 91 per cent of the total force ... who had agreed voluntarily to participate. (Halliwell 1987: 6)

During the period when there was an expanding interest in the new technology, and teleconferencing was being introduced by UWIDITE for its distance teaching, radio was still regarded as offering possibilities in important educational areas such as health education.

The case for using radio in education was made in a Report by Fincham (1984), which pointed out that radio is by far the most widely used form of modern communication in vast rural regions of developing countries. In many such countries, as can be seen in Jamaica at the present time, alternative media in rural areas are scarce and even newspapers are not readily available. It points out that radio is readily adaptable for educational purposes, and has a good track record with the only form of alternative continuing education being the attendance at courses at specially located

centres which are costly and necessitate absence from the work-place for the period of the course. The scarcity of medical staff in rural areas is also a factor to contend with. Therefore it is necessary to bring the education to the medical staff in order to avoid disruption to the service.

New technologies tend to be rather expensive in terms of cost and problematic in proving their effectiveness and are acquired because they are attractive when accompanied by persuasive sales techniques and sometimes external financial assistance.

Halliwell points out that:

There has been a costly trend in recent decades towards buying new educational equipment and putting it to use before viability or effectiveness has been proved, and sometimes even before essential support services have been put into place. Teaching machines and closed-circuit television are examples to remind us of many cases of miserable returns for heavy initial expenditure. The developing world is littered with expensive equipment, provided under hopeful, well-meaning aid projects, that has scarcely been used and is now lying idle. ... So there might be merit in the decision by the World Bank and the Jamaica Ministry of Health to opt for research into distance education by radio, rather than by a more recent but perhaps less well proven technology. (Halliwell, 1987: 7)

The costly trend to which Halliwell refers suggests that up to and probably after 1987 the expensive habit of putting new technology to use without a pilot study to demonstrate its feasibility was in operation.

The research showed that radio education was not particularly expensive. Capital expenditure was reduced, because time and equipment were obtained through rental of already existing machinery and air time was bought from commercial radio stations.

The programmes were primarily directed at health workers in order to update their skills and expertise, with minimum disruption to their work. These programmes were put out by commercial radio at peak listening times and were available to everyone in Jamaica with access to a radio. The manager of the Radio Education Unit believes that one way of judging the effectiveness of an education programme on radio is its ability to compete with other programmes at prime time and so far the REU has been able to attract large audiences at prime time. The sampling done by the radio stations suggests that sometimes the Radio Education Unit programmes

have larger audiences than competing commercial programmes.

Jamaicans now have reasonable access to radio and use it as a means of receiving information. Two examples of this would be reporting the late arrival of passenger aeroplanes at the two international airports and hurricane warnings. Because of the rural settings in which the population lives and the poor quality of road travel, and travel services on the ground, it is necessary to give out information about late arriving passenger aeroplanes so as to avoid many people travelling long distances unnecessarily to meet relatives who do not arrive.

The need to reduce the possible damage that can be brought about by hurricane with its implication for resources speaks for itself. Radio has been the only way of conveying these types of information effectively to masses of people. So distance teaching by radio continues. Miller (1991) describes it as different from UWIDITE and low level technology.

UWIDITE

UWIDITE started its operations in 1983 but according to Lalor:

UWI began experimenting with telecommunications in 1978 as one possible way of meeting the region's pressing demands for education. During the period up to December, 1985 the main support funding and technical assistance was provided by the Science and Technology Bureau of the Agency for International Development, Washington. (Lalor and Marrett: 1986: 8).

Lalor and Marrett are discussing the regional aspect of distance education and it is this that is being addressed by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). As a regional organisation, like the University itself, UWIDITE is obliged to carry out a regional brief but within this regional brief it also functions on a national basis which is connected to and inseparable from its regional functions. UWIDITE acts as an education transmission agent for various faculties at the University of the West Indies but does not itself actually produce courses.

Teleconference

A word about the system and its location and the uses to which UWIDITE is put may help to describe the picture. In Jamaica UWIDITE stations are located in four parts of the country with the centre at the university campus in Mona. Transmission takes place from all four stations. In Jamaica the

transmission can be confined to Jamaica alone or be broadcast throughout the Caribbean. There are other centres in Barbados and Trinidad. It has also been used to link up with Universities in North America by prior arrangement.

The system that UWIDITE uses is known as teleconferencing and operates by sound and still pictures. One user interviewee describes it as a system that can be used to talk to people in campus and non-campus countries and explains that:

what happens is that there are no direct visuals really but mainly audios. But nobody can talk at the same time as somebody else is talking, so if you want to ask a question you have to wait until whoever is on the system finishes. I talk and then the student presses a button and they talk, one at a time. (Interviewee 018)

The system as operated at present appears to be deficient in other ways, indicated in the following four paragraphs. At the present time the teleconferencing mechanism is used for lectures from 15.00 hours to 20.00 hours, Jamaican time. The time is intended to tie in with the times in other Caribbean countries but because of the differences in the times between some of the countries in the region confusion sometimes arises when it is not made clear whose times are being used. Although these may appear as small administrative problems, they are in fact numerous and added to that, different public holidays help to multiply the possibilities of error and difficulties.

The system has only one track, which effectively means it can only handle one thing at a time. An interviewee who sometimes works on the teleconferencing network pointed out that:

it should be possible to give say a history lecture on it [UWIDITE] and through a switching mechanism one group could be listening to the history lecture and one group listening to an economics lecture. Right now everyone is listening to an economics lecture or a history lecture. You can't listen to both. It is available for lectures from 3 pm. to 8 pm. (Interviewee 004)

From 3 pm to 8 pm means that twenty five hours of lectures per five day week are possible which means the delivery of eight subjects at three hours per subject. This suggests a restriction that prevents the expansion of distance teaching on a big scale. With the projection of off campus student numbers increasing to 2000 by the year two thousand, from an estimated 700

at present throughout the region, the need for a system that can deliver more than one lecture at a time, for example double tracking or the use of audio and print, needs urgent consideration if the targets are to be achieved.

The 'inability' of the system to function with more than one person speaking at a time is clearly a source of frustration to many users. Another interviewee who voices dissatisfaction about the inability of the system to cope with many speakers simultaneously makes these comments:

If somebody is talking to you and you start to talk they get cut off. So if for example you are saying a, b, c and you want to talk and I want to come in and say would you repeat it, I have to cut out a large chunk of what you said. In order to talk over you I cut the single channel so only one can talk. And the problem is that the person who gets cut out does not know that he or she is cut out so that he or she may have said something and people don't hear and they may ask you the same questions over again and the answers are not coming through because they are not hearing you. (Interviewee 027)

The level of interaction is therefore very low. For limited interaction to take place everyone connected to the system has to be very careful and the degree of care needed seems to demand continuous concentration. That is a recipe for losing concentration on the discussion and the lecture which is being transmitted through the system and for which people have come together.

Another person who lectures on UWIDITE shares the concern about the lack of interaction but also sees some potential in the system. He comments:

In terms of the actual teaching it has a lot of potential. At present that potential is limited because it is not a two way audio visual, it is a two way audio and limited graphics so you don't have faces at all except where it is a face of somebody (a 'still' picture). You may draw, it's like a telephone link up. I think it has a tremendous amount of potential. I have worked with the system and the ability to get a discussion in remote islands, remote parts of Jamaica can be as good as any I have in my office. Sometimes you have two persons coming on the line and that may cause problems. Little things like that. (Interviewee 023)

There may be a degree of interaction at particular centres, on a one to one basis, between recipients of the transmission as the experience of one of the interviewees suggests. He pointed out that if two persons come on line then little problems develop and consequently what is meant here is that the discussion, which is 'as good as any', is on a one to one basis. The timing applied to the pressing of your button in that situation becomes all

important. The comparison made with 'my office' is also that situation in which the interaction is between the student and the teacher on a one to one basis.

In terms of group interaction, which is what the two previous interviewees were discussing, teleconferencing at UWIDITE is unsatisfactory. It would appear also that the kind of interaction that best suits the developmental needs of students and academic staff is not discussed in terms of how this could be facilitated by teleconferencing or any other distance education medium. Getting together the users of the teleconferencing system to discuss their experiences in using the system and possible suggestions for improving it appear to be of urgent necessity if the system is to be expanded successfully without fear of frustration and alienation.

Given the nature of the Caribbean islands, as almost a definition of insularity, was another point that was made in favour of the use of distance education technology by an interviewee who said:

everything has led us [the Caribbean] to having so much in common and being so much apart that this is a means of bringing the places [Caribbean islands] together and removing the sea as barrier between us. I place a lot of importance on it forging a West Indian identity. (Interviewee 023)

Teleconferencing therefore has possibilities and could provide an efficient way of making contact between academic institutions in the region when compared with the cost of air travel in the Caribbean which is among the most expensive in the world. It could also save time by overcoming the formalities at international airports in the region and the time that travel consumes.

In terms of its 'regional' function there was a consensus of opinion at all levels and among a wide age group at the UWI, some of whom are regarded as natural regionalists. One of these 'natural regionalists' and a senior member of the University staff was a little concerned about the cost-effectiveness of UWIDITE but at the same time was very optimistic about the future. He says:

I would like to see it [UWIDITE] being cost-effective but to me cost-effective doesn't mean you don't have a deficit. To me what it means is that you do something this way that you could not otherwise do and it's worth doing. If you look at it that way the future of distance teaching will depend on vision, drive and capability. (Interviewee 013)

Cost -Effectiveness

One way in which UWIDITE's cost-effectiveness may be considered is in taking into account the expensive air travel that would have to be undertaken if UWIDITE facilities did not exist. Exact formulae cannot be provided because, as in most endeavours, the formula that works most satisfactorily tends to be arrived at out of discussions and consensus especially between experienced, interested and committed parties and not through the vision of any one individual.

Visions are important but their effectiveness rests with the response they get and if positive responses are being sought then involvement at an early stage of a variety of interests and at a variety of levels is important. An interviewee stated quite clearly that as far as one was aware the necessary and funded travel between the non-campus countries has not been reduced significantly. Therefore savings have not been made in this way:

What has happened is that they have not cut out any of their movements of people. Once it may have been tried to conduct meetings through UWIDITE as an alternative to inter-island travel but it did not continue for a long time. Travel that would be funded by the University continues and UWIDITE is not being used as an alternative. In a situation where there is a communication gap that wasn't going to be filled anyway, because people weren't going to be able to travel, you would use UWIDITE. (Interviewee 017)

Here distance education methods enable positive action to take place; it enables the inclusion of that which may otherwise have been excluded, but the indication is that it could have gone further and be used to replace some expensive movements of individuals around the Caribbean and be a money saving mechanism.

The general feeling is that the smaller countries of the region, which are the non-campus countries, are at a disadvantage in terms of their geographical distance from the University campuses. The expenses incurred by students living in the non-campus countries undertaking travel to and from their homes two or more times per year would make their university education very expensive. The University of the West Indies, in its effort and determination to extend distance education facilities to all the countries of the region, expresses a sensitivity to the needs of the non-campus countries for easier access to higher education. The following tables show the distance education courses and numbers of students in the non-campus countries.

Distance Education Courses in the Non-Campus Countries

Table: 5:1(a)

Enrolment of NCC Students in UWIDITE/Challenge Programmes 1987-92

Programme/Country	1987/1988	88/89	89/90	90/91	1991/92
*a) <u>B.Sc./BA/LLB</u>					
Antigua & Barbuda	19	06	05	12	13
Bahamas	-	02	-	-	04
Belize	05	01	12	06	03
Dominica	22	05	05	11	26
Grenada	11	07	10	08	07
Montserrat	12	06	04	06	09
St. Kitts - Nevis	06	07	07	06	13
St. Lucia	55	27	42	38	52
St. Vincent & Grenadine,	17	08	20	18	39
Totals	147	69	105	105	166

***Degree Courses**

Table : 5: 1(b)

Enrolment of NCC Students in UWIDITE/Challenge Programmes 1987-1992

Programmes/Country	1987/88	88/89	89/90	90/91	91/92
*b) <u>CPA</u>					
Antigua & Barbuda	17	13	12	14	N/A
Belize	05	18	05	16	"
Dominica	32	22	30	02	"
Grenada	21	12	21	26	"
St. Kitts-Nevis	20	07	05	04	"
St. Lucia	02	18	25	16	"
St Vincent & Grenadines	29	23	25	27	"
Totals	136	113	133	105	"

CPA. Certificate in Public Administration

Table 5: 1(c)**Enrolment of NCC Students in UWIDITE/Challenge Programmes 1987-1992**

Programme /Country	1987/88	88/89	89/90	90/91	91/92
*c) CBA					
Antigua & Barbuda	22	13	18	09	N/A
Bahamas	08	04	11	06	"
Belize	09	01	01	-	"
Dominica	36	19	32	14	"
Grenada	09	07	10	12	"
St. Kitts-Nevis	26	13	15	09	"
St Lucia	20	18	40	25	"
St.Vincent & Grenadines	16	23	38	20	"
Totals	139	98	165	95	"

*CBA. Certificate in Business Administration.

Source: Office of Planning,

Vice Chancellory, UWI 09.04. 92

The number of students given as enrolled are not all on programmes delivered by UWIDITE. The totals consist of part Challenge students and part UWIDITE students. "Challenge", refers mainly to courses and exams offered by the University in order to make Higher Education more accessible to potential students especially from the non-campus countries. The Challenge courses are delivered through UWIDITE.

Nettleford describes UWIDITE as:

a major mechanism for the delivery of Challenge Courses to the non-campus countries. Such courses cover a limited range of offerings in the Social Sciences, Arts and General Studies. (Nettleford, 1991: 229)

As can be seen from the table, in some of the smaller non-campus countries the number of students making use of the external facilities to acquire qualifications is significant in terms of the small population of those countries.

The following table gives the size of the population in the Caribbean countries served by the University of the West Indies and an indication of their diversity in relation to size, population and per-capita income.

Population Served by UWIDITE

Table: 5:2

Country	Area in (sq. km.)	Population	Per-capita income in US\$
Anguilla	90	7,000	800
Antigua / Barbuda	443	77,000 *	1,520
Bahamas	13,934	219,000 *	4,200
Barbados	430	250,000	3,780
Belize	22,965	152,000 *	1,740
B. Virgin Islands	152	12,000	3,700
Cayman Islands	259	18,000	9,400
Dominica	751	74,000 *	850
Grenada	345	106,000 *	890
Guyana	214,970	920,000	428
Jamaica	11,424	2,226,000	1,160
Montserrat	101	12,000 *	2,400
St. Kitts / Nevis	267	45,000 *	1,200
St. Lucia	616	124,000 *	1,020
St Vincent	388	100,000 *	740
Trinidad / Tobago	5,128	1,200,000	5,200
Turks / Caicos Is.	430	8,000	2,000

*The original nine non-campus countries served by UWIDITE.

Source: Ramesar, Distance Education in the English speaking Caribbean.(1990).

Most of the non-campus countries show a very high take up rate of distance teaching facilities especially in the certificate courses. In the Certificate of Public Administration (CPA) course there is a consistently high level of registration in all the non-campus countries except in St. Kitts, where there was a sharp decline after the registration of twenty students and in Belize, where there was a steady increase after the year 1987/88, when five students registered.

The popularity of the CPA courses and the consistently high number of participants may be due to the fact that qualified status helps employees in the government service to make progress in their careers and that some or all of the expenses involved in undertaking this course may be met by the government if the student is a government employee. The Certificate in Business Administration (CBA) courses may be undertaken for the reasons stated above with respect to Certificate in Public Administration courses, but have the added reasons of its applicability to private sector employment and

starting one's own business. The two certificate courses are also recognised for matriculation purposes and those wishing to become students of the UWI may choose this route of entry instead of the normal entry requirements.

In nine non-campus countries in the table there is a high demand for degree type qualifications. The demand, expressed through distance teaching, should be seen in the context of small populations and the fact that those who can afford it would have gone outside of the Caribbean or to the University of the West Indies for their education. In addition the figures given in the table for the degree courses represent a real demand since the second and third years of the courses have to be spent as an internal student of the University of the West Indies.

A university academic interviewed describes the situation as:

one in which the University in its efforts to facilitate access, decided to admit students to the second year of a course providing that the student passed the first year exams. After a while the University decided that if it makes this facility available it is only reasonable to offer tuition also. These students who receive tuition would sit Challenge examinations. (Interviewee 020)

Once it has been agreed that Challenge is the way the courses will be examined, UWIDITE can play a part in the delivery of such courses. In this way, argues Professor Nettleford, (1991), bureaucratic delays in the implementation of courses and access to them is avoided. The prestige of the courses is also preserved since the examinations are identical to the internal examinations.

Provision of access to higher education in Cave Hill, Mona and St. Augustine shows a similar relationship between UWIDITE transmission facilities and Challenge courses.

Table: 5 : 3

Programme Enrolment in Campus Countries in Challenge and UWIDITE.
Programme Enrolment.

	1987/88	89/90	90/91	91/92.
B Sc/B. A/LL B				
Cave Hill	240	N.A	99	140
Mona	148	238	183	240
St. Augustine	N.A	36	75	70
Total	388	274	357	450
CBA				
Mona	218	232	120	335
Cert Ed				
Mona	74	93	31	95

Source: Office of Planning and Programming
Vice Chancellery: UWL 09. 04. 92.

Information about students making use of the facilities offered by UWIDITE is patchy and would need a separate effort for a coherent presentation. The available information shows that greatest use is made of the distance education facilities offered at Mona where the largest numbers of students are concentrated. However a head-count of the number of students participating in the teacher education programme using UWIDITE on the stations at, Mona, Mandeville, Montego Bay and Port Antonio showed, 75, 25, 23 and 21 respectively, giving a total 144 distance students in 1992/93 academic year.

A view of the tables from the campus and non-campus countries shows that Mona runs certificate courses for teachers but certificate courses for teachers do not appear on the tables for the non-campus territories or at Cave Hill or at St Augustine. The table above also indicates a general trend of increasing demand on the UWIDITE facilities at Mona which suggest an expansion of the facility may be needed.

Expansion of UWIDITE

In addition to the courses offered by UWIDITE for credits, courses that enable students to matriculate or gain exemption from the first year of

undergraduate studies, some courses have a big section on health education and family planning.

An interviewee explained:

We have a grant from the German government for the Department of Obstetrics and they have been running programmes in family planning so UWIDITE has been carrying those programmes. I think they have now branched out into family life programmes so when you go to the centres now you get those programmes going as well, but those programmes are not necessarily for certificate. The family life programmes are for nurses and doctors. (Interviewee 004)

The University Principal says:

the plan for UWIDITE is to have a station in every country in the region,... and nationally (that is in Jamaica) I would like to see a few more dotted around the country with health centres with a sub-network attracting nurses, not the only users, and teachers. (Lalor, Principal UWI: 1992)

That expansion should go some way towards making a variety of courses more accessible to all the non-campus countries. All are expected to have their UWIDITE station in place by the end of 1992, but the expectation has not been achieved. There are fourteen non-campus countries and how the expansion will be effected appears to depend on the availability of money from the Caribbean Development Bank.

Location of UWIDITE Centres

Since distance education is intended to benefit the whole Caribbean region, and some countries in the region do not have a campus, steps will have to be taken to ensure that the non-campus countries are not at the tail end of the expansion.

Renwick, in a Draft Report, proposed that all three campus countries should have a distance education centre with the main centre location on one campus with:

The installation of a fibre optic backbone and the computerisation of the campuses as a prerequisite for developments in telecommunications that will be indispensable to effective distance education in the University's non campus countries. (Renwick et al 1992: 63).

This clearly involves the University in significant capital outlay, some of which should already have taken place, since the decision was to have distance education facilities in all fourteen non-campus countries by the end of July 1992. To that end a new building was being constructed for the occupation of UWIDITE staff at Mona at the beginning of October 1992 and is now occupied with much improved facilities. This new accommodation for UWIDITE at the Mona campus was part of Renwick's Draft Report recommendation which states:

money will be needed for accommodation and equipment for the centre for Distance Learning and the National University Centres to enable these units to service the operational requirements of an expanding distance education operation. (Renwick et al, 1992:).

The major sources of expertise are already located in the campus countries of Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, which appears to leave the small countries on the margins of the benefits from distance education.

Lalor states that:

this University is expected to become the hub of the educational system in the Caribbean. We are going to be part of the driving force for education in the other tertiary colleges, in the secondary system, in the primary system and also in continuing education. This is going to put an enormous responsibility on the staff and leaders of this University and the Minister of Education. (Lalor, 1990: 23)

Part of the responsibility that is placed on University staff and leaders is a shared understanding of how the resources of the University should be allocated. The view does exist within the academic community that UWIDITE ought to be in the School of Continuing Studies which should have the responsibility for the allocation of distance education resources. One senior academic suggests:

UWIDITE ought to be in the School of Continuing Studies. It actually operates from the School of Continuing Studies premises in the non-campus countries so why not? If these centres are headed by someone who is already head of UWIDITE then why have they to be separate? It appears that individuals need to loosen control of it, if it is to respond adequately to development needs. If UWIDITE is a teaching organisation, it means that holding conferences is secondary to its tertiary priority and if it is properly used it will have no time for fooling around with meetings, but if it's your toy you will have difficulties giving it up. (Interviewee 025.)

It appears that a great deal of care has to be taken in how education is delivered to the non-campus countries. At the March, 1992 UNESCO sponsored conference of Caribbean States, held in Kingston, strong dissatisfaction was expressed with the quality of the service that the University delivers to the non-campus countries. If the non-campus countries are to get maximum benefits from the UWIDITE they need to be involved, equally with the campus authorities, in policy decisions, because their higher education students are becoming increasingly dependent on distance education.

Distance Education Students

The question as to who UWIDITE students are is a pertinent one. If we consider the non-campus countries, it is those students who are either unable or unwilling to leave their homes or their jobs and travel to another country to study with the expense that is involved. In the campus countries we may however be talking about students who are studying at a distance for different reasons.

In Jamaica it may be the student who failed to get into University at the first attempt and who does not want to wait another year. Students who fail to secure places on the normal full-time basis for whatever reason may be referred to UWIDITE as a possible way of getting on a degree course without having to wait until the following year. It was pointed out that there was a tendency to put the least qualified people into UWIDITE. One lecturer puts it this way:

I know that if the faculties have, say, one hundred places and UWIDITE has twenty places then the best qualified one hundred will go to the faculties and the twenty going to UWIDITE will not be as well qualified. Only if a student states specifically that he or she wants to go to UWIDITE is an exception made. (Interviewees 014, 025)

This could mean that UWIDITE is not being allowed to demonstrate its real potential because it is competing with the faculties and in that competition it may be at a disadvantage. Some full-time University students, however, also take advantage of UWIDITE facilities because of financial difficulties that sometimes arise, preventing the student from attending university with the regularity that a course demands, because they have to be continuously raising money to pay for their education. These students feel the need to get higher education qualifications for career purposes but their successes do not show up as successes of UWIDITE.

In discussions with some faculty members and heads it became apparent that the 'working' students benefit from the existence of UWIDITE by accessing its discussions through the notes of friends or direct listening but UWIDITE does not get any recognition for the services accessed in this way and the true value of its services may not therefore be recognised. There is also the need for certification which applies to professionals, for example, those involved in the teacher education programmes which UWIDITE facilities provide.

Teacher Education

The Faculty of Education is involved in raising the level of teacher education using distance teaching methods with UWIDITE as the delivery mechanism. One academic, from outside the Faculty of Education, interviewed says:

The university people are involved in teacher education and a large number of people coming into the University are people with teaching diplomas coming on undergraduate courses. The teacher's diploma is regarded as three 'A' levels for matriculation purposes. Extra-mural may give people a few 'O' levels but what the faculty of education does, nobody else does. They (the education faculty members) are the ones that have got the Ministry of Education to do educational projects and are the validating authority for teacher education colleges in the region. (Interviewee 030).

Although the Education Faculty is involved in all aspects of teacher education and has considerable influence with governments and education officials in the region it also attracts some criticism, especially from the non-campus countries in terms of what is delivered to them in the form of teacher education and other educational opportunities through UWIDITE.

The teacher education statistics from the UWIDITE Report (1986) show Jamaica as the only country making use of the UWIDITE's teacher education programme. This is not related to any absence of demand for teacher education elsewhere in the Caribbean. Miller (1991) has shown that the demand and requirement for teacher education, for qualified teachers and qualified teacher status in the non-campus countries, is high, but that there is a problem of meeting that demand because some potential students are not sufficiently qualified academically to gain access to higher education courses. They have practical experience but are lacking in the required qualifications for university matriculation or for entry to Teacher Training

Colleges. They are however allowed to continue teaching as unqualified teachers.

Co-operation and Development

There is regional co-operation between Caribbean states, which is regarded as essential, economical and useful because of the similarities in the region's needs. The mechanism for bringing about co-operation was not always obvious because of the difficulty of putting together the resources to do so.

The University of the West Indies through its Education Faculty and the United States Agency for International Development [UWI/USAID], resourced a Primary Education Project in 1985 in which the UWI were able to show that given the resource back-up, Caribbean regional co-operation can be achieved in education. The project, according to Miller was intended to:

improve the learning environment for primary school children throughout the Commonwealth Caribbean and a related sub-purpose of strengthening the UWI Faculty of Education, to enable the university to extend and expand its on-going assistance to the territories in their efforts to improve educational programmes. (Miller, 1992: 182).

The University of the West Indies has been, from its inception, a symbol of Caribbean co-operation and, Massanari and Miller, in an evaluation of the project, quoted in Miller (1990), found that the anticipated project outcomes were achieved and that:

In a few cases they were exceeded, and some unanticipated outcomes were also derived. (Miller, 1992: 183).

The unanticipated outcomes included the use of a regional intermediary, the University of the West Indies, as implementing agent, to take responsibility for all aspects of the project, including the selection of personnel and consultants. The use of UWI as the implementing agent was the cause of some satisfaction within the ranks of Caribbean academics, especially those in education.

Miller writes:

It is commonly alleged that through the conditionalities attached to external funding by the donor agency, foreign experts and consultants, foreign ideas, methodologies, and materials are imposed on the beneficiaries who have little choice but to accept. Donor agencies usually plead guilty to this charge, with the explanation that suitably qualified persons are not available in the local setting; hence they must import what is needed. (Miller, 1992 :187)

Miller goes on to suggest that the charge of imperialism could not be applied to this project since nearly all of the expertise, ideas and materials were drawn from the Commonwealth Caribbean. The ability of the UWI to find the necessary skills within the region was viewed very positively as far as the University's effect on the region's governments and officials was concerned. The University is therefore not only a major unifying factor within the Caribbean region; it is also promoting and validating the argument against educational, cultural and economic imperialism. If it is possible for the UWI, as the regional intermediary, to successfully conduct its own primary project then the question of why this should not be applied in cases of other projects where the skills are present becomes pertinent.

Significant success with the project was achieved, in that its objectives of developing high quality products was widely accepted by all participating governments and was within the stated budget, according to Miller, showing that the Caribbean has developed expertise and experience in basic education which is as good as can be found anywhere.

The example provided by Miller is but the beginning of how universities in developing countries can demonstrate their own capabilities, and examples like these need the widest international exposure to influence the degree of co-operation between the developed and the developing countries, necessary for the development of distance education and the reduction of suspicion.

However, some of the difficulties indicated here are cultural, embedded in the consciousness of Caribbean leaders and people. Whilst on the one hand there is an effort to be assertive and to demonstrate independence, the "I am as good as anybody else" syndrome, there are also and at the same time clear examples of dependency. What the developed world has produced is regarded as good and worthy of reproducing in the developing societies, not because of the intrinsic value of what is produced but simply because such developments are in the possession of the developed countries.

Defining and understanding development is often taken from developed societies without much examination as to how these definitions fit into the strategies of developing countries. When resources from developed countries are accepted there is a tendency to accept a whole package which determines the kind of technology that is put in place for the execution of the project and also the direction in which the project is focused. This occurs even in situations where external resources are smaller than those provided locally.

A partial description was given of the situation that can arise by one interviewee who is sometimes required to implement the conditions attached to external assistance. The interviewee comments:

If you are relying for your education funding on the Ford Foundation and Ford says these things this year, if you want Ford's money you have to do what Ford says. So things will get set up based on the demands of the funding agency and in some cases the private sector donating money. Alcan, an American mining corporation, put in a chair for sustainable development. It has economic links with the ecology, and so people put in chairs and you then are faced with the option of saying no or doing what they tell you they want. At one time UNESCO was funding folklore studies and we had to create the situation that was justified. In this way there is a possibility that the way an institution wishes to proceed may be distorted. (Interviewee 017).

In their indebtedness developing countries accept the conditions that lending agencies impose upon them so that, for example in Jamaica, important decisions about public policies, including spending, employment, taxation and ownership policies are made in terms of whether particular tests set by external bodies, the lending agencies, will be passed. Reference to passing the International Monetary Fund (IMF) test in order to draw on another stage of funding often occurs in the local newspaper, 'The Gleaner', and provides a source of lively political debate inside and outside the Jamaican Parliament, between competing political formations. In this way the ability to meet, or not as the case may be, an externally imposed condition is used to gain or deny political credibility.

Perhaps thirty years is not enough time in which an imposition of total dependency lasting for over three hundred years can be replaced by a collective independence in any one nation or number of small nations. However dependency is being questioned, especially among younger academics who went through the education process, particularly higher

education, during the post-colonial era, in the late 1960's and early to middle 1970's when the whole idea of what constituted the West Indies and attempts at a different and independent consciousness were being developed and discussed in the context of independence and self reliance.

Criticisms of the development of UWIDITE and the University as a whole is about what it offers and to whom. One interviewee pointed out:

My own position is that it (UWIDITE) is a positive in our region and in Jamaica where it has grown. But it must move much beyond standard university programmes. It has that potential, but for it to be realised the willy nilly development has to be halted and better links created and developed with the community, promoting reading and the use of written materials and so on. (Interviewee 025)

There is obviously a desire for a coherent policy on distance education, developed with consideration given to the needs of the ordinary people within the community. In formulating such a policy the Caribbean communities should be able to articulate those needs, even if the possibility of meeting them is not immediate. If distance education is intended to meet the demand for more and better education, then those making the demands need to have some influence on what is provided.

Comments and Conclusion

The University of the West Indies has developed a cohesiveness that has enabled it to remain a regional University in a sea of sovereign states, demonstrating that it has been able to absorb the conflicting educational and political demands and pressures of the countries in the region. This cohesiveness could be beneficial to the Caribbean governments in pursuit of their own, at present elusive, quest for political and economic unity and a West Indian identity.

The University feels secure enough about its future as a regional educational establishment to be confident in implementing distance education expansion plans for the whole region. This confidence is based on the current response to distance education in the Caribbean and its expansion on a world scale. The extent to which this response will lead to increased demand for distance education is an unknown element that needs careful analysis for policy decisions and implementation.

This analysis of the demand for distance education in developing countries especially in the Caribbean, which consists of small countries scattered over

thousands of square miles of water, is necessary in order to identify where the expansion is likely to be needed most and whether the demand is likely to be real and sustainable.

The basic rationale for the establishment of UWIDITE is that it can help to meet the development needs of the region by providing the trained workforce that is required, if not at all levels, then more immediately at the managerial levels. What those development needs are may have been determined by guesses rather than by systematic approaches that engage people and their political, social and industrial organisations, in the search for a consensus of past, current, and future needs and the kind of strategy required to meet those needs. UWIDITE however does not appear to feel secure enough to engage in democratic discussions and decisions about where its future lies or the direction in which it ought to go.

Understanding that UWIDITE was established in order to make use of funding that was available from USAID for electronic communication is important because the agency that provided the funding would be influential in determining the kind of organisation that was immediately established. In other words, Jamaica and the West Indies educational agenda may not have been the prime concern, although it may have been possible to have their agenda integrated.

Research which pays particular attention to the development needs of each island state is needed in order to produce information about their development potential and how this potential can be linked one island to the other and serviced by UWIDITE now that it exists and is discovering that there is a need for the services it provides. However research has to be resourced which the governments of the region need to guarantee and assume responsibility for.

This is not to take a negative view of the role of external funding and conditions that attract external funding. It is simply a question of recognising that the resources needed to gather information in some developing countries may have to be sought from outside the particular country requiring the information and in the process of getting that resource the project itself may be distorted. An awareness of that possibility can sometimes lead to what one academic calls 'academic draughtmanship', which means you take the money and do that which you intended in the first place. This however may not be the best way of planning a country's

development.

It is a contradiction in which developing countries are caught. They understand the need to plan their long term development strategies but they also have to cope with the immediate demands that are made upon them which conflict with planning strategies. Funding agencies that suddenly become aware of having surplus funding capacities could consider ways of incorporating that surplus into their long-term funding arrangements or transfer the resources to the funding of existing projects that require additional assistance.

The necessity for long term funding arrangements backed up by research and analysis in specific situations has been made by Chung, who points out, using agricultural development as an example, that:

Ambitious agricultural development plans are no longer possible without an analysis of the agricultural skills and implements of the participants, and without consultations about their intentions and aspirations. (Chung, 1990: 62).

. Chung's awareness shows how essential pilot studies are, for in this way it is possible to discover potential difficulties, identify resources and understand people's needs and attitudes to development projects. Whatever is being developed should, if it is going to make a difference to people's lives on a long-term and sustainable basis, come about through dialogue among the rulers and the ruled, between the experts and the non-experts, the 'educated' and 'uneducated' and between the contending ideologies, where they exist, within those island states.

Bringing together contending ideologies for determining and implementing development policies is the most difficult of all, but in a country like Jamaica the difference in policies seems minute and is based mainly on the personal careers of powerful individuals. Golding, a senior Jamaican politician arguing for an improvement in Jamaica's political culture, suggested that reforms ought to begin with the island's two major political parties. Identifying both the People's National Party and the Jamaica Labour Party, he said:

Political parties remain exclusive private clubs. We venture out intermittently to massage public support, but we are essentially concerned not with protecting the public interest but with protecting our own. We are supposed to be concerned with the nation's business

but we operate like two military camps. What I am dealing with within my party is military tactics and strategy, but I can't discuss it too openly because the other side may know. (Golding, Gleaner 29. 06. 1993: 9)

Golding is outlining a situation in which the policies of all contending political parties should be available for examination and analysis as the basis for making a choice and for giving or withdrawing support from them. Without this approach, the 'military' type of operation becomes the alternative way of conducting political affairs because in present circumstances differences in the ideology of the two main competing parties are minute if they do exist.

There are other forces to contend with. The use and application of new technologies reduce the need for indigenous technological input, creating more dependence in the process by increasing the reliance on technology that has no local basis or local renewal capabilities. It has to be said that sometimes nothing less than the 'state of the art technology' will do, as anything else would be seen as conferring inferior status on recipient nations, a sort of re-imposition of the colonial status on local beneficiaries of assistance.

From informants' comments, it appears that UWIDITE has influenced the thinking of many academics at the University in positive ways. University lecturers in the campus and non-campus countries have experienced the possibility of communication with one another unrestricted by time and space. There is now an awareness of a wider significance of the technology and the contribution that distance teaching can make to education in the Caribbean, but the organisational form in which orderly progress can happen is not yet in place. An appropriate organisational form for UWIDITE users, to enable them to contribute to improving the system or even suggest alternatives, is an obvious need that should be built into the expansion plans.

If UWIDITE is to be expanded then the opportunity should be taken, within a democratic educational framework, to give the faculties and university staff the opportunity to contribute to its improvement. At the moment the university academic staff are not employees of UWIDITE and even if working in distance education were to become a part of new academic staff requirement, for a considerable time to come a substantial number of the staff will be those existing at the present time. If they cannot use the system productively and do not feel a part of it, then there is a danger of alienation

affecting both staff and students. As the number of students increase that danger increases also, perhaps without the requisite time and space to deal with underlying problems and tensions that develop during organisational expansion and change.

UWIDITE, as a distance teaching organisation in Jamaica, is now government supported and funded through the University grants. Distance education in Jamaica is regarded as a part of the development strategy by the Minister of Education whether or not it is university based. This was verified in the government's 1993 budget, when it was clearly stated that funding will be available for distance education.

It is difficult to insert change into the UWIDITE through democratic means, because the system has never been geared up to respond to demand for change, or even to discuss the possibility of change and the form it might take. One interviewee with a considerable input into UWIDITE did say:

the present situation has created a lot of uncertainty and has affected attitudes and interest and the sooner that is put right the sooner everyone will be able to respond positively to all current developments. (Interviewee 001)

The basis of the uncertainty lies in the non-involvement of the academic staff in discussions about their and UWIDITE's role. New academics, other than the 'founding fathers' of the University, with questions about what UWIDITE should be doing and who should be participants in the benefits of this facility and its enabling structures, show a consciousness which recognises the need for change in a democratic framework.

Chapter 6 - Distance Education and the Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy. (JAMAL).

Introduction.

This chapter deals with the Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy (JAMAL) and its role in tackling the problems of illiteracy in Jamaica using a combination of distance teaching and face-to-face methods. Whether it has tackled the problem of illiteracy satisfactorily to a large extent depends on whether there have been benefits to the Jamaican people, particularly those participating in the literacy programmes. The immediate and main question that is being addressed in this chapter then is:

1. Who in particular has benefited?
2. How has this benefit been translated into benefit for the wider society?
3. What kinds of problems, if any, were encountered?

Duke (1987:328) has raised the questions of individual and group benefits when considering development projects and adult education which can include adult literacy.

Before looking at the effects JAMAL had as a distance education organisation on Jamaican society, it is important to point out that JAMAL is being dealt with as a distance education organisation primarily because of its past work when it used the media, radio and television, extensively for part of its work during the 1970's and 1980's. The political and economic situation in Jamaica changed during the 1980's and has affected JAMAL's work in distance education. As a consequence JAMAL's use of the media and its role as a distance education organisation is now reduced.

In the 1970's the government of Jamaica had a survey conducted into the problems of illiteracy and as a result of what they found the Jamaica Movement for the Advancement of Literacy (JAMAL) was established.

Establishment of JAMAL

Education and illiteracy was an issue in pre-and post-independent Jamaica. The extension of education beyond basic level was limited to the upper and middle class and was therefore a 'privilege' denied to the vast majority of the people.

There was, however, concern about the effect of this state of affairs on the

well being of people generally, and in the early and mid 1940's a literacy movement developed with the slogan, "each one teach one". This was immediately after the second world war and was a development that ran parallel to the movement for adult suffrage and demands for Home Rule.

Progress was limited because there was no systematic approach to literacy. By the 1960's there was a recognition that illiteracy was not being reduced and that a more systematic approach was required. The body which had the responsibility for reducing illiteracy during the 1960's was the Social Development Commission, which was part of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. This body also had responsibility for the development of many other aspects of Jamaican social and cultural life.

In 1970 a survey by the Ministry of Education found that half the adult population, estimated at five hundred thousand people, was illiterate. This was eight years after independence. Jamaica was in political and economic turmoil. Unemployment had not decreased significantly from pre independence levels, and people's life chances were not improving.

The West Indies was affected by radical thinking and actions and in some Caribbean countries, it has been argued, the situation existing was one of dual-power, which meant that some of the governments had lost overall authority and a combination of other groups, mainly unelected, had as much power as the governments. In Trinidad and Guyana the ability of the governments to govern was often in doubt because of the strength of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary opposition forces.

In Jamaica the situation was also volatile and many radicals regarded the situation as 'ripe for change', perhaps even revolution. At the same time there was a recognition that there may be some connection between illiteracy, high levels of unemployment and economic inactivity. In 1972 the People's National Party came to power in Jamaica on a radical programme of public ownership and land reform and against this background of radicalism it began to tackle the problem of illiteracy.

A National Literacy Board was set up as the organisation that would deal with the problems of illiteracy. The Literacy Board launched a programme to reduce illiteracy but almost immediately encountered problems described in the journal, JAMAL, as:

- (i) A high level of drop-outs among students, with fifty per cent of students abandoning the programmes after only a few weeks' attendance.
- (ii) Poor quality of teaching. Teachers were in short supply, a feature of many developing countries, and motivation was low because of low pay and status of the 'profession'.
- (iii) General shortage of staff with the desired skills, such as experienced teachers of adults.
- (iv) The need for evaluation. (JAMAL, 1982 : 19).

The problems encountered by the National Literacy Board laid the basis for a restructuring of the Board. This in turn led to a change of name from the National Literacy Board to the Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy in 1974. One interviewee who has been involved throughout the whole process of JAMAL's development said:

It was felt that a new approach was required and that this merited a new name. The Jamaican community was not involved in literacy and this new approach was to involve them at all levels, the intention being to give literacy a high profile and reduce any stigma that was attached to attending literacy classes. (Interviewee 010)

The Statistical Yearbook of Jamaica describes JAMAL as a movement that:

was established in 1974 to take over the functions of the former National Literacy Board, established in 1972 with the major objectives of not only eliminating literacy from Jamaica, but also of maintaining functional literacy through the prevention of illiteracy by the concept of continuing adult education. (Statistical Yearbook of Jamaica, 1990: 141)

The Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy from the beginning in 1974 saw its work as part of the adult and continuing education service of Jamaica, but with a concentration on literacy which received the major part of its efforts. In 1981 it conducted a survey of its achievement which revealed that over twenty four per cent of the population aged fifteen years and over were functionally illiterate.

A sufficiently large reduction in the number of illiterate adults had therefore been achieved over this period, to instil a degree of confidence into JAMAL about what it could achieve.

Creating an Interest in Literacy

Many interviewees were quick to point out that literacy campaigns did not begin with the Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy

(JAMAL) but that they came out of the Social Development Commission, (SDC) in which they worked. When the literacy campaign got going, after its name had changed to JAMAL, the budget got too large for it to be accommodated in the SDC. That is to say that JAMAL's budget was more than half of the total SDC's budget.

The initial cost of setting up JAMAL has not been stated anywhere within the literacy education and training circles. It was stated by a senior JAMAL worker to be:

A lot of money. We were taking up now an organisation, a part of another organisation - the literacy programme was part of another organisation -the Social Development Commission and one of the reasons why; in the 70's we had done a budget for literacy, but the size of the budget was such that it could not be accommodated in the Social Development Commission. Its (JAMAL's) budget was more than the Social Development Commission's Budget. (Interviewee 028)

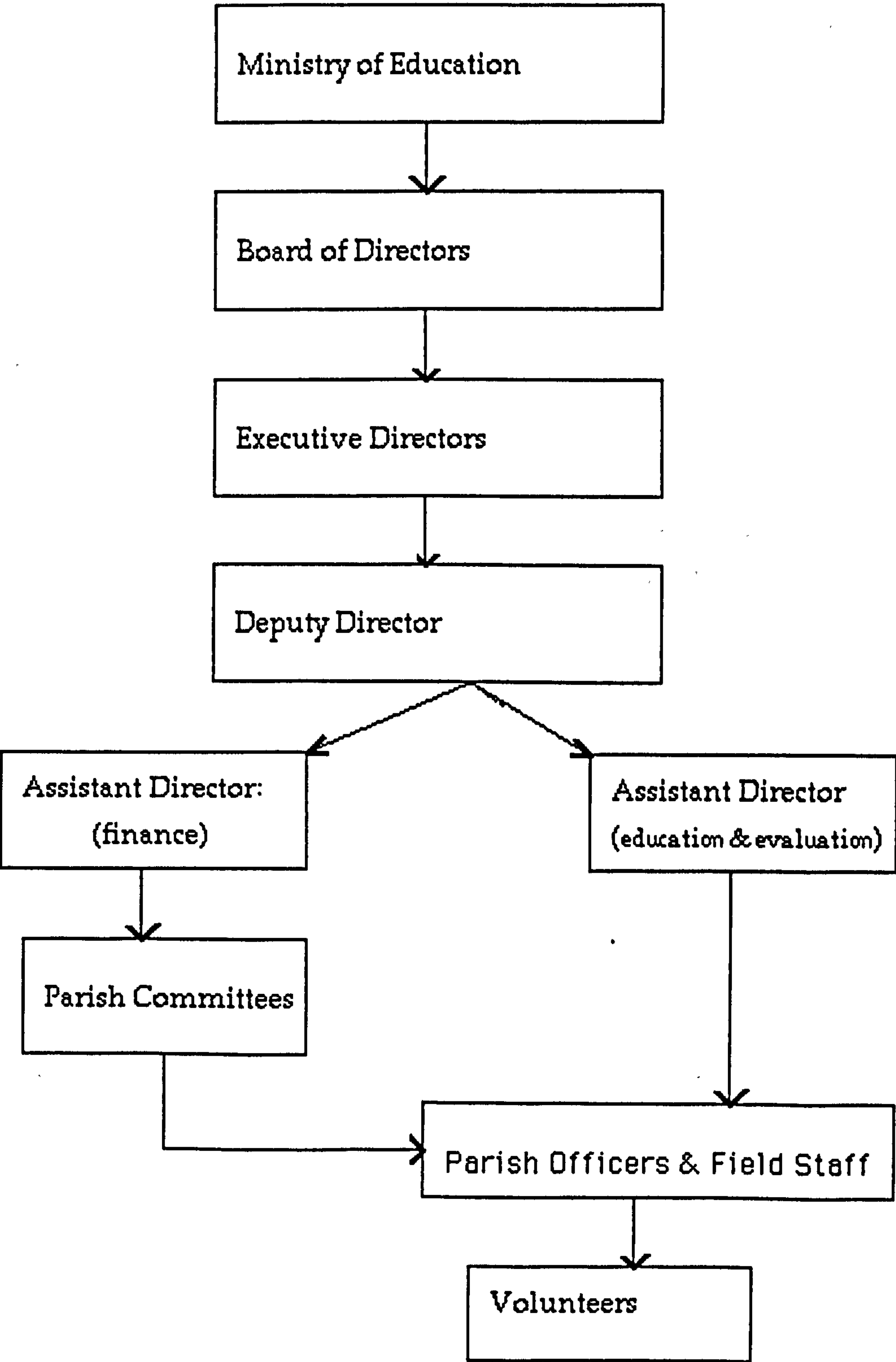
JAMAL then became an independent organisation with its own terms of reference, responsible directly to the Ministry of Education for its programme of work. It received its funding directly from the government. Everyone seems to be suffering from amnesia when asked to put a figure on the original or any other year of JAMAL's budget. Amnesia also occurs when requests are made to see the documents relating to the period.

Part of that budget was for the extensive use of radio and television in the early days of JAMAL, mainly to recruit teachers and anyone else who had an expertise that was usable on a distance education project and also to attract those adults who needed literacy training.

...

The Structure of JAMAL

Fig. 6.1



The Board of Directors is the chief policy making body but that body draws on the experience and advice of the Parish Committees and is free to accept or reject any advice given when determining national policy. The executive director is the chief executive who is responsible to the Board of Directors. Although the Ministry of Education is the final arbiter in matters affecting the national interest, it restricts its intervention in JAMAL so that the communities that it serves can participate, with considerable influence in what the organisation does and who it reaches.

At the establishment of JAMAL in 1972 it was intended that the organisation should embody the concept of continuing adult education and that it should involve large numbers of people, not only as students but as voluntary teachers, fund raisers and general supporters. People were brought together at organised events and in this way whole communities were able to cooperate in fund-raising, show their support and encourage massive participation from the people who were illiterate as a prerequisite of success. The kinds of successes that were aimed at required substantial amounts of money, of which the government was the main provider, but it was also necessary to raise money from the communities and businesses at large in order to finance the project and to show that ordinary people were involved.

Raising finance then also became a part of JAMAL's activities and it is involved in money raising activities at the present time in all of the parishes of Jamaica. These money raising activities involve approaches to manufacturing, commercial, financial institutions, organisations and individuals. The effect of this level of involvement is to ensure that JAMAL and its activities are widely known.

JAMAL's objective was to operate basic adult literacy programmes and its functions were to:

- i). Eradicate illiteracy in Jamaica within the shortest possible period.
- ii). To improve the literacy skills of the adult population and
- iii). To develop human resources and so enable each adult citizen to participate meaningfully in the social, economic and cultural development of the country.

The literacy campaign was directed was for the achievement of a better quality of life for Jamaican citizens. This better quality of life would only be achieved through personal and social development, and of course for the

JAMAL organisation and the government, education was the key to this process. The development objectives were not stated in specific terms. It was not a situation in which specific development needs were identified and appropriate training, including literacy, given. It was simply a general acceptance at the time, that education would assist in development.

Jamaica's nearest neighbour, Cuba, had successfully operated its literacy programme in a revolutionary situation and their experience in literacy training provided some encouragement and examples which could not be followed in Jamaica because of the different nature of the two societies. The Cuban experiment was regarded in Jamaica as very successful and the way the Cubans established and executed their literacy programmes was also admired.

The ideology prevailing at that time in Jamaica was very receptive to the kind of politics that favoured changes that gave 'control' of the economy to the Jamaican people. It was believed that a literate population would have access to information, regarded as a vital component in the quest for 'freedom' and 'control' and also for development. One interviewee, who was closely involved in the process as a teacher and administrator and one of the first people to be involved in using distance teaching methods, gave this description:

Remember Cuba was very successful, they go for things with a very single minded purposefulness and at that time there was a lot of articulation between Fidel Castro and Michael Manley. JAMAL grew out of that kind of association. There were also other efforts in other parts of the world to lick (*defeat*) the spectre of illiteracy, with varying degrees of success, and it was then that JAMAL was put in place and I think a timing was given of from three to five years during which time illiteracy will be greatly reduced and the programme will phase out (Interviewee 003).

JAMAL claims to have reduced the number of illiterate persons from fifty per cent of the adult population to eighteen per cent between 1974 and 1987. A figure of 278,578 members of the adult population was given as remaining illiterate in a survey done in 1987, representing this 18 per cent. This claim is backed up by the Statistical Institute of Jamaica who publishes the information.

This means that a significant contribution was made to the achievement of functional literacy in a relatively short time. Functional literacy is described

in JAMAL's publications as the ability to write simple letters and follow simple written instructions. However it is suggested that illiteracy is on the increase particularly among the fifteen to twenty four year olds and concern was being expressed at this development in 1992.

Views of Current Problems .

The responsibility for the increase in illiteracy occurring in 1992 was blamed on the formal education sector, particularly the basic schools that pupils attend from the age of seven to fifteen years. The director of the Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy, commenting on the situation, said, "The increase could be attributed to the irregular attendance of students at school".

The Minister of Education suggested that:

main stream education needs to be made more efficient and primary education strengthened. (Gleaner 13. 08. 92 :16)

The statement from the director of JAMAL was specific if simple. All that needed to be done was for pupils to attend school more regularly in order to effect a solution to the problems of rising numbers of illiterates. The responsibility for illiteracy in that context seems to lie with the illiterate people.

The Minister's statement was more complex and questions needed to be asked in order to determine the meaning and substance of his statement. Was it lack of resources, over-size classes, a predominance of poorly qualified teachers, or simply lack of teacher commitment that makes the service inefficient and weak? Was it a combination of all these things? Discussions about these issues would inform the kinds of decisions that need to be taken and would help to determine the remedial actions that are necessary to stem any rise in the number of illiterates occurring.

More important is the link that is made between formal and non-formal education in relation to literacy. There are important questions about how the success of the formal education sector should be the dominant factor in determining policies in the non-formal sector and to what extent formal links should be established between the two. The necessity for understanding that relationship is understood by a number of JAMAL teachers, especially by those who are qualified teachers, working in basic schools and who also volunteer as teachers for JAMAL.

JAMAL itself has attempted some linking by its provision of part-time attendance officers for schools. An interviewee who works for JAMAL stated:

we will not be able to eradicate illiteracy until the schools are properly resourced and there are no longer classes of sixty children. We have very little resources to speak of (Interviewee 006).

This teacher has established a relationship between school in the formal sector, class size, resources and success. However it needs to be pointed out that in a situation where there is overcrowding and chronic staff shortage, getting children to attend school regularly can be a problem.

Jamaican children tend to speak a form of dialect, known as patois, but are taught and expected to read in standard English which many teachers have not fully acquired. The problem this creates for learning may be enormous. It is as if children are being taught in a language they do not speak but without any consciousness of the difference. If that is the case the enormity of the problem is rooted in the availability and quality of resources and an approach to learning that does not pay attention to the role of language in the learning process.

How, for example, can a teacher be expected to teach a large class of children, frequently as many as sixty, sometimes as an unqualified or pre-qualified teacher (as they are sometimes called) in what is to the students and some teachers a language different from the one they speak, in poor surroundings and with the few textbooks regarded as inadequate and unsuitable in content? The fact that some of these teachers also volunteer for work in JAMAL is an indication that they have made a connection between the formal and the non-formal sector. The work they do voluntarily recognises this link and it is being used by them to correct some of the deficiencies encountered at the formal, basic level of education. That which they were unable to do in the large classes they taught, they now try to do with students who left school two or three years previously.

Lalor (1986) pointed out that distance teaching has no links with the formal sector in reference to the University of the West Indies Distance Teaching Experiment and its educational links. It is recognised that substantial progress in combating illiteracy will depend on the ability of the formal sector to reduce significantly the number of illiterate people coming out of

the schools. The question of locating resources for this and cooperative efforts in training and training facilities for teachers could be a starting point, but the link between the two sectors needs to be established and the contributions from those who work in them need to be encouraged and put together for appropriate action.

Establishing Links

In July 1988 the Director of the Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy, writing in one of the special issues of "Lamplight" the quarterly journal of JAMAL, pointed out that:

Experience has demonstrated that illiteracy can only be eliminated through an integrated approach combining primary school education of sufficient duration and quality for all children with literacy instruction for those youth and adults in need of it. (Thomas, 1988: 9).

The statement that illiteracy can only be eliminated with the formal education sector playing its full part brings into focus the need for efficient and effective basic education. If a large percentage of the 15 year olds completing secondary education are illiterate then the elimination of illiteracy becomes an elusive goal.

For basic education to be effective teachers must not only be qualified and be aware of the problem of illiteracy, the young school age population must also be able to attend school and be willing and able to benefit from the learning experience the school offers. According to Myers there was an attempt to meet this new perceived need by:

attempting to make every teacher a teacher of reading, to prepare reading specialists both for the 4 - 11 and for the 11 - 15 age group. This with a continued attack on absenteeism in schools should really make even more significant inroads into the source of the problem of illiterate school leavers. (Myers, 1990: 44)

The programme to make every teacher a teacher of reading was to be put in place in 1991 along with the introduction of attendance officers, attached to schools, but the extent to which that policy has been influenced and applied successfully, in the case of training every teacher, cannot be verified because no formal reference is available about changes in teacher education to include the teaching of reading and also because of individual preferences in student teachers' choice of main subjects.

However the Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy has broadened its activities into the area of school attendance and absenteeism. Although this cannot yet be described as a formal link, one interviewee connected with the operation believes it is a step in the right direction and says that:

We have a compulsory attendance programme but my gut feeling about implementing the compulsory attendance programme is that it doesn't work. What happens is this. A number of JAMAL's part-time officers visit schools to find out who are attending and who are not. They then visit the homes to find out the reason and try and get the pupils back to school again. (Interviewee 025)

What has happened is that JAMAL's work has now been extended to monitor school attendance as part of the recognition that compulsory education and attendance is part of the process of producing a literate population. Its activities and responsibilities have therefore been extended beyond the teaching of illiterate adults and are linked to the basic schools with significant restrictions.

The restrictions are that JAMAL's attendance officers cannot take it upon themselves to visit parents and investigate the absence of pupils. These officers have to be requested to make home visits by the head teacher and in this way the school management keeps total control of how and when pupils with long absences are dealt with and also on the effectiveness and functioning of attendance officers. This explains the 'gut' feeling of the interviewee who believes the compulsory attendance programme has not born any fruit. The suggestion is that school attendance officers should have the power to follow up regular absentees and that the teachers should not be made to feel that they are failing to hold children in the schools.

Finding and returning absentees should be regarded as a positive act and be used to improve the school's image as a school that cares about the achievements of all its pupils. This however may depend on the understanding of what signals the government gives about its attitudes to education.

Education in Jamaica.

It could and has been argued that the continued need for literacy training in Jamaica has its origin in the inability of the formal education sector to produce a high percentage of literate students from the primary schools.

This inability is the result mainly of the political and physical climate in which people learn and work, large classes, teachers who are inadequately trained and by occasional natural disasters. In the last five years there have been three floods, one hurricane and one earthquake, destroying lives and property on a massive scale. This destruction affected many of the country's schools. Some resources have had to be redirected to the repair of schools, which means that some development projects have had to be delayed or abandoned.

However the period at which it was noticed that a rise in the number of illiterates leaving the school system had begun to occur does not coincide with a rise in the school population. The infant and primary school population in Jamaica decreased from 525,826 in 1986/87 to 519,090 in 1988/89. Primary and infant education comprise the types of schools shown in the table below.

Enrolment in Primary Education 1986 /87 - 1988 /89 in Jamaica.

Table 6 : 1

Type of institution	Enrolment		
	1986/87	1987/88	1988/89
Basic schools	103,935	105,684	112,471
Infant schools	11,095	11,159	9,350
Primary schools	176,783	175,481	174,714
All age schools	232,168	226,012	220,305
Special schools	1,845	1,845	2,250
Total	525,826	520,181	519,090

Source :Ministry of Education, Jamaica. 1990.

The types of schools listed above constitute primary education in Jamaica. The overall decline in the primary school population during the period was approximately 1.3 per cent but although there is a decline in the primary school population the rate of illiteracy was going up. Although the effect on the pupil teacher ratio would have been improved by such a decrease in pupil registration the effect on literacy was not showing an improvement. The responsibility for the increase in illiteracy must therefore lie elsewhere other than in pupil numbers. Resources appear to be the one support factor that has been reduced and it therefore appears that herein lies a considerable degree of explanation for the decline in the standard of literacy among

school leavers.

Institutions of Primary Education: 1986/7 - 1988/9

Table 6 : 2

Type of Schools	Number of Schools		
	1986/7	1987/88	1988/89
Basic schools	1514	1514	1514
Infant schools	29	29	29
Primary schools	290	291	294
All age schools	493	493	493
Special schools	5	5	5
Total	2331	2332	2335

Source : Ministry of Education; Jamaica.

There was also an increase in the number of primary schools which should have had a positive effect, given that more space would have been available, possibly improving the conditions of teaching and learning. A fall in education standards and the increase in illiteracy cannot therefore be accounted for due to lack of space. Serious overcrowding in the school system would not have been any worse in 1989 than it was in 1986. The actual numbers of school pupils had been reduced and the physical capacity had increased marginally.

The reduction in the number of primary school pupils, accompanied by an increase in the number of buildings and teachers, is an improved situation for better educational output. The following table shows the number of teachers in the education system between 1986 and 1989.

Number of Staff by Schools:1986/7 - 1988/9

Table 6 : 3

Type of Schools	Teaching	Staff	
	1986/87	1987/88	1988/89
Infant schools	250	275	290
Primary schools	4,000	4,056	4,115
All age schools	5,467	5,536	5,486
Total	9,717	9,867	9,891

Source; Ministry of Education; Jamaica

The number of teachers has not been reduced, although in 1988/89 the number of teachers in all age schools was 50 less than the 1987/88 figures. Other factors such as the movement of population, externally and internally, the level of school attendance, the instructional programme, the curriculum, the effect of part-time schooling and the nutritional level of students may provide information that explains why illiteracy is again on the increase.

The non-availability of books or other suitable and relevant reading material, coupled with the fact that Jamaica has not yet developed a reading culture, may also be responsible for regression of low level readers back into illiteracy. The vast majority of people are too poor to buy reading materials, and some people do not have access to a newspaper. The library service seems inadequate.

Miller argues that:

motivationally it must be recognised that participation in primary education, especially of children of disadvantaged groups, is on the assumption that excellent achievement will be rewarded with social advancement. ... The major point being made here is that the stage of Caribbean education dictates an integrated approach to future policy and programmes. One level of the education system cannot be addressed in isolation to the others. (Miller, 1992 : 14 & 17)

Miller is suggesting a relationship between formal and non-formal education. In this relationship the policies of Caribbean governments on universal primary education that they have been trying, if half-heartedly, to enforce since 1981 should be fully implemented. The present policy of enforcement means that eighty per cent of children age 6 - 11 attend primary school. At the level of primary education this means that a rather high

percentage of children, twenty per cent, will be illiterate as a consequence of non attendance at school, added to those who are illiterate because of other factors.

Miller backs up his argument by citing the low level of attainment in some primary and secondary schools in developed countries, for example, in Europe and North America where many children emerge with very low attainment and are sometimes illiterate in spite of the abundance of resources in those countries. For, him, then resources are not the problem but policies that make social mobility a real possibility. The two situations described are not contradictory and suggest that a re-instatement of resources as one support factor combined with appropriate policies that encourage social mobility are essential for the reduction in illiteracy.

Tackling the Problem of Illiteracy

Discovering that illiteracy was widespread in Jamaica may have come as no surprise after the survey in 1970. Compulsory education was not in force although regular attendance was encouraged. Enforcement officers were never appointed and it was entirely up to parents to ensure that their children went to school. Parents who felt the need to keep their children away from school, for short periods of time, could do so freely without the need to inform or seek permission from anyone.

There is the added problem in Jamaica of street children, those children who have no one to help and direct their development and who have to find some means of earning a living. Some may be school age children unable to attend school because of the demands on them to earn their living at a very young age. For these and other youths the government thought provision was necessary to enable them to read and write. This situation was recognised when the schools were also turning out large numbers of illiterate children.

Setting up an organisation to teach illiterate people to read constitutes a small part of the solution to a huge problem. Getting people with adequate qualifications and experience to manage the literacy programmes, getting students to attend and also the problem of making attendance at literacy classes a positive act, something that people want to do, also constitute part of the problems faced by JAMAL.

Ways of partly tackling the problem were found in getting the co-operation of the church which has considerable influence among people in various

locations. Additional locations, for example places of employment, are also being targeted for the conduct of literacy training and encouragement. An interviewee who works for JAMAL says:

We are trying to get companies to help with the teaching. For instance our efforts have produced two people in this parish from one company. We go into the company and train them to teach because there are people in these companies who need JAMAL. The programme has only just started and the response so far is mixed but encouraging. (Interviewee 027)

On the spot training is also done. This is done by visiting places in rural and urban areas and assessing the need for literacy classes through meeting with local residents and the local parson or preacher.

Traditionally in Jamaica sections of the church, mainly Baptists, have been very effective in working alongside ordinary people and against the colonial authorities to assist illiterate people to become literate. This is not something that is confined to Jamaica only. Many of the people who received an education when their countries were under colonial rule, received their education through the church. The Baptists are well known for their anti-slavery work in the United States of America and the Catholics for their educational work in Africa. Many of the people who have emerged as leaders in the struggle for independence in the immediate post independence periods of colonial and ex-colonial countries, particularly in Africa, received their education through the church.

In Jamaica the Baptists played a key role in education, up to the point of alienating colonial governments, and as a consequence gained and still have the confidence of large sections of the Jamaican population. There is therefore a need for literacy agencies and organisations to work closely with the church in order to reach the people targeted. The church also benefits as it receives some revenue for use of its premises, used for literacy education classes. A 'captive' audience is also provided for purposes of worship and to learn about the 'power of prayer' etc. Many of the students also express the real benefit of literacy as achieving the ability to read the Bible and, more ambitiously, to become a minister of religion.

Industrial and Commercial Interests

In addition to the churches, industry, especially in commerce and tourism, have shown and expressed an interest in literacy and the work of JAMAL. The chairman of the Private Sector Organisation of Jamaica, in recording his appreciation of JAMAL's work and the value of literacy, says:

The skills of reading and writing open up endless opportunities for learning. This is not only an advantage to the individual; a nation of literate citizens has the potential which can be turned into economic growth and social development. It is no accident that the fastest growing economies in the world have literacy rates of 90 per cent and better.

We in the Private Sector Organisation of Jamaica urge everyone to help advance the cause of literacy in our nation. (Stewart; 1990; 10).

A labour force educated enough to be trainable for work in industry is a greater asset to the employer than one that is uneducated and illiterate. In addition the literate person can be trained to perform the tasks of the illiterate person but it is not always possible to reverse the situation. The employers' leader also sees a connection between literacy and economic development, that can benefit the individual and the whole society.

The position of the Private Sector Organisation of Jamaica was similar to that of the Jamaica Chamber of Commerce whose President, in a statement about JAMAL, said:

...it is through learning that our minds are developed so that we can make more meaningful contribution to the growth of our nation. Therefore, an improvement in Jamaica's literacy rate will put us on the road to being a truly developed nation (Younis, 1990: 11).

It is a rather big claim to make for literacy but development and commercial success in the private business world, for the Chamber of Commerce, is also closely related to literacy and education. The Chamber of Commerce also sees their organisation and members benefiting from an improvement in the rate of literacy in the quality of their labour force.

A number of JAMAL's students who became literate, found work in the tourist industry, one of the largest employers of literate labour in the Caribbean. Examples of the students who became literate, employable and found jobs are often given as examples of success and are used to motivate potential students to join a literacy course. For example the two largest hotel

chains employ JAMAL graduates in various capacities within their organisations.

The support from industry is not just a verbal one in the sense that the leadership of industry makes supporting statements without backing up those statements in a practical way. International Literacy Year Magazine (JAMAL 1990: 63) published a list of organisations from which JAMAL receives support. The tourist industry and some retail and manufacturing firms are also active in providing the information which helps recruits to literacy programmes to understand the relevance of reading skills to their particular industry or firm. A skills training programme which is regarded as important in helping to relate literacy to productive work is also being implemented.

Skills Training and Literacy

Skills training was seen as an important development during the 1980's but implementing this as part of a programme to reduce illiteracy had practical difficulties in that JAMAL does not provide the training places but relies on employers to place students in their business establishments. It is an area in which some re-orientation appears to be necessary. One of JAMAL's leading officials when interviewed puts it this way:

We cannot go back to the old system of just having a literacy course. We must attach it to something, a skills training of some kind where literacy and numeracy can be put to immediate use and seen as relevant to something which may be relevant to the needs of that particular individual. (Interviewee 021).

One traditional area of employment for which literacy may be fast becoming a requirement, is in domestic service where individuals are employed in people's homes in various capacities as child minders, cleaners, cooks and gardeners etc. The idea is now to see domestic service as different from the subservience with which it was associated in the past and for which literacy was not a requirement. But standards have changed and so have the requirements of employers and employees.

For example, people in domestic service feel the need to learn to read because reading opens up the possibility for them to be more creative in the service they provide, improve their ability to follow recipes, to be more nutrition conscious and offers them a greater selection of things to do with more independence than is possible in a state of illiteracy. An example of

how technology has increased the demand for reading skills can be found in the home in the use of labour saving devices. Instructions on the use of labour saving devices need to be carefully followed and the employer may give instructions or training but an employer who is not always available to give reminders needs someone who can follow written instructions. Many employees will not accept employment where there are no labour saving devices and they recognise their own literacy needs in being able to use the equipment. Domestic service is not always regarded as desirable, but the level of unemployment in Jamaica sometimes makes it a welcome relief for many people.

There is no evidence that the majority of JAMAL graduates acquire jobs or become self employed. They compete for employment in a situation where the unemployment rate ranges from 15 per cent to 20 per cent and over. Feedback in this area is inadequate and it is claimed that successful JAMAL graduates fail to come forward in large numbers because they are embarrassed by their past illiteracy. Nothing is known of the effort that JAMAL puts in to find these successful graduates, although it could be argued that this is vital information for JAMAL, necessary to demonstrate its success when showing that it has contributed to national development. This information is also important as supporting evidence about its entitlement to resources, and as a motivator for actual and potential students.

What appears to be the case is that a small number find employment in some of the service industries and a few others who are able to find a small amount of capital establish small businesses and become self employed. Others may regress into illiteracy.

Miller argues that alienation plays a part in the level of illiteracy that exists in developing and developed countries. He suggests that one of the features of Caribbean education is that it offers a wide coverage of education at the primary and secondary level but very limited opportunities at the tertiary level and that all Commonwealth Caribbean countries provide their populations with universal primary education but:

where alienation and marginalisation persist it is very unlikely that additional resources by itself will bring about great changes in the quality of education. Where changes are occurring in the relationship that permits greater participation in the mainstream, then even the existing levels of provision may yield higher levels of participation and

performance. (Miller, 1992 : 12)

If the provision for primary and secondary education is adequate then the explanation for the existence of illiterate students continuing to emerge from the school system needs to be explained in ways other than inadequate provision. Miller's points suggest that the changes necessary for participation in the mainstream are not occurring and we therefore have a low level of expectation among those attending schools and those leaving.

This low level of expectation among sections of a generation have led to passive reactions from those joining the ranks of previously disadvantaged groups. The government has therefore decided to react and to make changes in order to reduce the passivity of that section of the population.

One such change was to fund skills training programmes of which, it was argued, the economy had more immediate need whilst holding back on literacy programmes in what was described as a period of very difficult economic circumstances for the country as a whole. The newly literate persons were unable to show a large enough return on the investment in them and so create a favourable climate for continued investment on the grounds that literacy pays. Education and the acquisition of reading skills have to be seen as long term investment otherwise it may lead to frustrations. Skills training was seen as an important way of compensating the newly literate persons.

Political Power and the Direction of Resources .

One interviewee said:

JAMAL was vigorously supported by the People's National Party (PNP) because they believed in the power of reading. When the PNP was defeated we began to lose resources. It was not a priority for the Jamaica Labour Party to have people who could read and they therefore cut support for the programme. At the moment the buildings are poor but we have just got the People's National Party back in again and we now have a little more support (Interviewee 010).

Another interviewee and JAMAL worker was equally forthright in criticising the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP). The interviewee commented that:

All the major JAMAL appointments, made after the JLP came to power was with the intention of reducing the effectiveness of JAMAL. The evidence is there to see and that is why we are in the state we are in at

the moment. (Interviewee 003)

The evidence referred to was the huge reduction in JAMAL's staff during the period of the the JLP's government.

These opinions are not shared by everyone and other interviewees contradict this position. The interviewees' support of a particular political formation or explanation of the problems that JAMAL now has may depend on their positions in the hierarchy of the JAMAL organisation. One senior JAMAL employee said:

we don't believe the political party is important. Each Party is supportive but when the Jamaica Labour Party was in power Jamaica was suffering from an acute financial crisis and the resources were not available to put into the organisation (Interviewee 028).

How it came about that a financial crisis was discovered so quickly under one government, resulting in the reduction of JAMAL's and other educational activities, is not explained except in the statement itself that that was the situation.

There is also a recognition that the problems of all rural areas need to be addressed. One interviewee says it is urgent because:

The government use radio, which is what most people have access to, and television to persuade people to produce more and more agricultural crops. They sometimes tell them what to produce and the people go ahead and produce it. At the end of production people complain that they can't sell their produce or there is a glut and they can't get a reasonable price for it or they just can't get it to the market because the roads are so bad and the trucks refuse to go and pick up the produce (Interviewee 021).

It was explained that the process of persuading people to produce has been repeated so many times that there are signs that the rural population is becoming cynical about government intentions. The cynicism has not developed far enough to erode the power of politicians in Jamaica as yet. One interviewee describes the politicians as:

having the power of persuasion over the people out of all proportion to their importance as politicians and of the country they lead. Their power is based on the fact that people are unable to get their own information, therefore a dependence on the politicians who have a vested interest in keeping people ignorant (Interviewee 017).

Maintaining an Interest in Literacy.

Many of JAMAL's workers believe that to maintain an interest in literacy, the literacy programme must be linked to the needs of the learner. It is believed that the failure to link the literacy training to each individual learner results in a significant number of students dropping out of the course. Identifying what the immediate and future needs of students are creates some difficulties for the teacher and for those who produce learning materials. In an economy where a large percentage of the population are always unemployed, the immediate needs tend to be for employment not the distant goal of literacy.

There is no social security in terms of weekly pay out to the unemployed and this, though not necessarily reducing the incentive to learn, creates some competition between the desire to become literate and the need to secure the most important of the next day's necessities, for large numbers of people. In addition to that situation, JAMAL has only limited facilities for skills training and this further limits its ability to relate literacy to any particular skills needed by an individual or in the economy.

One interviewee, who has been involved with JAMAL for a considerable time, recognises the gap between what is needed and what is provided and has commented:

We have people that are illiterate and cannot obtain employment, not because all the vacancies are taken but because the unemployed are unable to communicate other than through the spoken word. Let me illustrate, in the simplest terms, I want to employ someone to work in my home ... but I must find someone who can read so that I can leave written instructions since I am more than likely to be off before the employee arrives. If I cannot do that then the amount of trouble that I have to go through means that I would be better off doing it myself. Secondly if the information is purely verbal some of it will be forgotten and the work will be incomplete. (Interviewee 002)

Numerous examples were given of the need to be literate and the difficulties of persuading those most in need to learn to read. Some examples were about the need to read your own and other people's instructions for medicine. For example, it was also pointed out that people need to rely on memory too much when there are no reading skills and that this can be dangerous to the individual and others.

The interviewee comments again with great emphasis:

If my daughter or son needs medication and I have a helper who cannot read I will have to stay at home and not go to work because you cannot reasonably rely on anyone remembering the amount of medication to give and neither can one always remember to ask. So for me employing or working this place with someone who can read is vital. (Interviewee 002)

Sometimes individuals will go to extraordinary lengths to avoid being found out to be illiterate. In one situation a young person selling flowers for an employer could not issue a receipt because he was unable to read or write. This he would not admit and pretended that a receipt was not normally given. When a receipt book was found it was the pen that was missing. When a pen was produced and the items written for him he was unable to sign the receipt. He did not say that he could not read. In my discussion with the employer she explained:

I have been trying for six months to get him to go to JAMAL classes but he either prefers the 'easy' life which he will realise in time is not so easy, or he is worried that his friends will laugh at him if he admits that he cannot read and is attending JAMAL classes. I hope this little experience will encourage him to go and learn to read. (Interviewee 029)

There is, therefore, some peer group pressure among young adults that discourage them from admitting to illiteracy and attendance at adult literacy classes since this, it is believed, would damage their street credibility even when that attendance is prompted in the first place by employment necessities. In these situations the ability of the local field and parish officers to understand and deal with the potential students and get them to develop positive attitudes is important although not easy.

Literacy education is needed particularly in the rural parishes of Jamaica in order that a trainable labour force can be realised because here, according to the latest World Bank Report on Jamaica:

Evidence from many countries indicates that the highest social returns come from public spending that concentrates on providing at least a good basic education for all the population. (World Bank Report, 1994: iv)

This training means bringing people up to the level where they can continue with self training, if necessary, in the sense of increasing their own productivity as part of the wealth creation process. One interviewee suggests that:

JAMAL should bring people up to the stage where they can benefit from the Human Education and Resource Training (Interviewee 004)

which was set up to offer skills training to the literate and unskilled individuals who could benefit from such training. However the argument for making JAMAL into an organisation which offers skills training is now developing and is regarded as vital to the success of any literacy training programme.

Government training agencies do not have comprehensive training facilities. Candidates for training are placed with the organisation most able and willing to offer an appropriate form of practical training. These training places are not under the control of the government and as a consequence a training place cannot be guaranteed.

The case is made for a link between the literacy and training agencies and the co-ordination of literacy and skills training to deliver the kind of trained work force that the country needs. There are already government training centres that could link into this programme in order to avoid unnecessary duplication and production of irrelevant skills, although it is difficult to think of a practical skill that would be irrelevant in Jamaica in the present conditions.

The Minister of Education pointed out in an interview:

we are trying to develop JAMAL along the lines of an adult education council which will allow it to interface with anybody who is doing anything in adult education. (Whiteman, 1992)

The examples given were part of a range of suggestions as to where JAMAL should be aiming and the all-inclusive nature of the role it should and could be undertaking in association with the continuing education sector of the University of the West Indies using distance teaching methods.

Another interviewee and senior education worker suggests that in the future, for example:

if a religious denomination says we want our members to be literate, those who are parents to be good parents and those who are workers to understand what service means, and so instead of having our mothers' meetings we are going to have seminars once a month where people come in and share with our people, who work in hotels and in the home, the difference between service and servility and the skills of

service, at the same time making sure that we do not have anyone in there come out unable to read, we want to be in a position to provide that service. (Interviewee 005)

What is involved here for JAMAL is not just teaching people to read but helping with personal development. The Minister of Education explains the necessity for JAMAL to have a skills training programme as well as a personal development programme because it should help to influence the type of labour force Jamaica has in the future. He said:

I think there are tremendous possibilities there [for skills and literacy training] and we will be having as from the middle of this month (May, 1992) a director in place who has that vision. (Minister of Education: May 1992)

The decision has therefore been taken to move JAMAL in a particular direction. The direction in the words of the Minister is to get to the point where:

people understand the value of literacy in the context of learning, retraining between themselves with all kinds of modern developments, modern ideas ... because people need to re-energise and regenerate from time to time to be dynamic. (ibid)

While the emphasis does not shift from literacy, equal emphasis is being placed on activities that are seen as dynamic. The development process is a dynamic one and the intention is for JAMAL to occupy an equal place along with other more prestigious educational organisations in this process. The kind of organisation inherited, with a skeleton staff, gives the new executive director the opportunity to develop JAMAL for its future role, providing government support and finance is available. This support envisages a return to greater use of distance education to achieve its development objectives which is that retraining and re-energising courses will be available while people are employed, in their own space and in their own time.

Financing Literacy Projects:

Financing literacy projects in Jamaica appears to be a problem on many counts. When inadequacies in the literacy programmes are identified, the problem of inadequate resources tends to be quickly identified as responsible. Shortage of books, inadequate space, shortage of furniture, absence of dictionaries are some of the problems that can be quickly identified. These are problems that affect not only the literacy work but

formal education as well.

As far as the non-formal education sector is concerned, there is a tendency to seek external funding in order to get a project going. An interviewee at the Ministry of Education pointed out that the funding may be sought from any one of a number of international funding agencies. That sometimes puts a limit on the way the funding may be employed, but there are also other consequences, described in this way:

We try all sorts of funding agencies and that gives rise to this tendency to have one issue projects. When the funds dry up the projects disappear. However, sometimes, the end of funding of a project has the effect of putting extra burden on local budget because we are forced to continue with that particular project because of its usefulness to us (Interviewee 012).

The lack of adequate resources is a problem for Jamaica, and for other developing countries. Sometimes it means that when extra resources are demanded or required for an education project, it has to be taken out from somewhere else, usually out of another part of the education budget.

Other reasons and ways of funding are based on hope. The hope is usually that the situation may be sufficiently prosperous within a given time to enable the continuation of a project. For example a Ministry of Education official explained:

a project needing capital expenditure may be started with external funding for that project. However it is done with the hope that in three or four years' time, when the project's funding comes to an end, the economy of the country would have improved so that the project can be sustained. Of course very often that is not the case although we always try to sustain those projects which are critically important to development (Interviewee 005).

This situation creates something that is verging on chaos. The choice appears to be to do nothing until funds are available in sufficient quantity by which time the situation may have changed, or to go ahead with projects in the hope that something turns up in the form of additional external funding or an economic miracle. By its very nature, miracles are elusive and project workers function with a degree of uncertainty which militates against getting the best results. Projects too have a peculiar way of escalating in cost and the restrictions on the budgets of developing countries limit what can be done when costs are escalating.

Inadequate resources for any form of development are sometimes the result of 'foreign currency strain'. By this is meant the continuous devaluation of the currencies of developing countries in relation to the currencies of the developed countries. The continuation of this problem means that where technology for a project has to be bought from the developed countries it becomes more expensive, sometimes doubling in price while in transit. Other restrictions, such as limits imposed on public spending by international lending agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund as a condition of lending, limit the amount that can be spent on public projects.

Government officers and politicians are aware of these impediments to their intentions to plan the development of their education services which they are as yet unable to combat.

One interviewee connected to the Ministry of Education states the problem in terms of the declining value of the Jamaican currency:

the purchase of some equipment becomes impossible when the Jamaican dollar depreciates as much as it has done recently. It makes a serious difference to our ability to deliver the kind of literacy and other services we need (Interviewee 017).

While the interviews were being conducted for this research, for example, the exchange rate for the pound sterling in relation to the Jamaican dollar changed from twenty five Jamaican dollars to the pound sterling to forty seven dollars to the pound, which meant that over eighty five per cent more Jamaican dollars would be required to pay for the equivalent amount of goods imported from Britain if that rate of exchange were sustained. All this took place within the space of ten weeks before the dollar began to stabilise at something like forty dollars to the pound.

This means that sixty per cent more Jamaican dollars have to be found to purchase the equivalent amount of goods from Britain. This kind of situation restricts the ability of a state to plan ahead and into the future. For any development to take place the actions have, of necessity, to be piecemeal, with fingers crossed, especially where that development involves the use of foreign technology.

Governments in that situation are not even able to take advantage, to any great extent, of gains for them within the currency markets. The reason is

that stabilisation seldom occurs for any length of time and that the debts to international funding agencies become larger, leaving very little resources, after meeting commitments, with which to purchase equipment or to spend on long term development projects.

Summary and Conclusion.

The nature of underdevelopment in Jamaica can be traced, it may be argued, back to the neo-colonial relationship between that country and the developed world. That may appear to be too easy an answer and indeed one that everyone has heard before. That may not be the total explanation, however, because it takes a partnership to establish any kind of relationship whether or not that relationship is unequal.

The radicalism and ideology of the 1970's, in Jamaica and some other Caribbean countries, was about changing the relationship between the industrialised North and the impoverished South by effecting a transfer of wealth through different economic relationships. Transfer has not taken place however and there has been a rapid movement back to the ideology of free enterprise and the market based economy, without any question or plan for the distribution of the wealth that is expected from a market based economy. The logic would appear to be that market forces will determine the distribution of the wealth so created. It is a form of "trickle down" which has not proved to benefit that section of the population requiring most help.

A recently elected member of the Jamaican parliament pointed out that the deprivation suffered in the rural areas means that people who could be role models have left and are refusing to return. The member said:

We want to see those people or people like them returning in order to act as role models. But to achieve this we must invest in these areas so that people have something worthwhile to do and for which they are responsible. Investment in education and infra-structure is the key to this development. (Member, Jamaican Parliament)

According to the Member of Parliament the only visible signs of prosperity that young people see in some rural areas are of people who engage in illegal trade and that provides the role models for these future adults. It is argued that the role models of the future should be determined by education and legitimate economic opportunities. This calls for a high level of planning but, as I have argued, the inability to plan has been a problem

for developing countries. As Watson pointed out:

While most developing countries have adopted planning units/ministries, the gap between the targets set and the reality of achievement has all too frequently brought planning into disrepute (Watson, 1984: 42).

This is also a feature of planning in developed countries but not to the extent experienced in developing countries. The question of how this situation is arrived at is an appropriate one to ask. The level of inflation, downturn in economic activity in the developed countries, devaluation of the currencies of the developing countries, cannot always be planned for in the developing countries. Suitable data on which to make predictions and set realistic development objectives cannot be produced because developments, political and economic, in the developed countries cannot always be predicted either. It is not just a question of an interdependent world. It is more a question of an interdependent world with one section weighted towards dependence.

In the circumstances to plan and start development projects and hope that the economy may change for the better is a legitimate way of working because it has the possibility of positive development rather than despair. Knowing the shortage of resources and the tendency to cut project spending is something that tempts the planner to overstate the requirement, so that when resources are reduced what is left may approximate to the 'real' requirement. Historically the hope has not paid off completely but the reason for failure is not located in the policies pursued by the developing countries alone.

Project aid (resources given at concessionary rates) to developing countries is usually accompanied by 'expert advice' and sometimes supervision from the donor countries. As one of JAMAL's executive members puts it:

there are so many restrictions on the assistance we receive it is surprising we are able to do anything (Interviewee 021).

When projects fail either as a project or to satisfy the demand and needs of the recipients, the recipients should not always be held responsible for the failure. Miller has shown, [Chapter 5], that when the recipients take the responsibility for administering the project outright, success can be achieved in addition to other positive and unexpected benefits.

Developed and developing countries also appear to understand development to mean the developing countries becoming more like the developed countries with the equivalent lifestyle and consumer habits. It is not surprising then to find that significant numbers of people in the developing countries adopt United States and Western European lifestyles. In the Caribbean it is partly influenced by the kind of American lifestyle that is projected through some thirty television channels into some Jamaican homes via satellite dishes [a form of distance education] and this becomes a contributory factor to the denial of resources to the rural areas because these resources are used up aping 'affluent America'.

When the campaign to get national support for the Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy began, the aim was to involve as many Jamaican individuals and establishments as possible. The director at that time, it has been suggested:

played a pivotal role in the establishment of a national structure which would allow for the mobilization and participation of the nation, uniting people from all strata of the society, in all social and economic institutions, crossing all artificial human barriers of class, politics and religion to work towards the goal of eradicating illiteracy (JAMAL Foundation 10th Anniversary Souvenir Magazine, 1982: 47).

A reduction in illiteracy was achieved in the first five years and this reduction was assisted by the involvement of individuals and institutions with money and materials. Benefits from this have been achieved, on a small scale, by individuals who were able to get employment in some industries and by the employers who were able to utilise this kind of labour. The small benefits have a fragile base and standards of literacy are already beginning to deteriorate, as the Minister of Education and JAMAL's executive secretary have observed, because of inadequate educational provision.

In the meantime, as if he recognises the problem, the Prime Minister of Jamaica has been reported as saying:

Sixty percent of Jamaica's budget was used to service foreign debts, so the government was unable to deal effectively with major problems. (Weekly Gleaner, 2. 2. 93: 16)

It is a situation in which vital issues of training and education are not addressed, leaving large sections of the population, especially in rural areas,

feeling vulnerable. It is a warning of how changeable the situation is and perhaps an indication of how sensitive the government is to the neglect that the rural population has endured. This sensitivity was being shown at a time when the last election was approaching. It was reported at the same time that the government of Jamaica, the Inter-American Development Bank and the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries will be funding the improvement of 60 percent of Jamaica's roads. This is:

expected to reduce the loss of agricultural products during transportation and also reduce transportation cost of agricultural products and passengers ... provide better communication and agricultural inputs and outputs ... and it is hoped that the road improvement will provide better access to social and cultural services and reduce migration from rural to urban areas. (Weekly Gleaner, 2. 2. 93: 16)

The government can be seen to be seeking support from its electorate, not on the basis of what it can provide but on its ability to acquire loans and grants from external agencies for the provision of social services and cultural facilities, including the improvement of literacy skills in which distance education will play a part. In this way there is a promise that some benefits will reach the rural population but once again the possibilities are based on dependency.

Chapter 7 - Distance Education as an Agent of Development.

Introduction

This chapter examines the contents of previous chapters in the context of Jamaica's Five Year Development Plan (1990-1995) and the role of distance education in that plan. General conclusions about the state and quality of distance education as an agent of development envisaged by the plan are also examined. The development issues are important because national development strategies and education are explicitly linked with the Five Year Development Plan unlike previous development plans where education as an agent of development was only implied. Government rhetoric has also linked development to education.

The organisations involved in the distance education contribution to the Development Plan are The Ministry of Education Teacher Up-grading Programme, which concentrates on raising the level of teacher competency; the University of the West Indies Distance Teaching Experiment, which relates mainly to higher education and specialist teacher education; and the Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy, which is regarded as a non-formal education organisation with the responsibility to raise the level of literacy of Jamaican adults to the point where they are able to communicate in writing.

Previous Development Plans

Previous development plans drawn up by the governments of Jamaica are considered briefly because they relate to the present development plans and also give an indication of former objectives and changes that have occurred over the years and how these changes relate to the changing status of Jamaica through from colonial status to political independence and post independence periods. Previous development plans also give a view of how entrenched some of the problems affecting development are in Jamaica's economy.

The table below gives a synopsis of previous development plans from 1957 to 1982 which cover the immediate pre-independence period up to 20 years after independence. 1957 to 1982 is also important because it covers a period in Jamaica's history when there were changes of government and changes of status. This period is one in which there was the transition from colony

to independence and the two main political parties experienced power.

Five Year Development Plans; (Jamaica 1957-82)

Table 7.1

1957-62	1963-68	1970-75	1978-82
Objectives	Objectives	Objectives	Objectives
Human resource development	Economic viability Social and cultural development.	Unemployment of less than 5% Income redistribution.	Inflation curb Budget deficit reduction of 3%-4% per annum.
Social services development Diversified economy.	Integration of social norms. Provision of economic, cultural and social services on a mass basis.	Increased exports 50%-60 % increase in real per capita expenditure on food Free education to high school level and compulsory primary education	Reduction of unemployment to 15% Improvement of water supply and development of indigenous energy supplies.
	Rapid development of selected sectors to provide employment and boost consumer demand as a stimulus for increasing output.	Improved economic and social infrastructure. Achievement of social consensus.	Establishment of the institutional framework of a mixed economy.

Source: JFDP.1990

FYDP (1957-62 Constraints	1963-68 Constraints	1970-75 Constraints	1978-82 Constraints
Import depend- ency	Capital shortage	Unemployment	Scarce foreign ex- change
Poor economic and social infra- structure	Deficiency of market demand	Shortage of skilled labour	Unfavourable balance of payments
Export depend- ency	High levels of unemployment	Increased importation and its effect on domestic prices	Budget deficit
	Rapid populat- ion increase	Low exports	High and fluctuating inflation and interest rates
	Social constraints and cultural dichotomy	Need to rationalise the use of Foreign exchange	Negative economic growth
	Low levels of investment	Need to improve efficiency of state agencies	Rising unemployment
	Low levels of income		Low levels of saving

Source: JFYDP. 1990

The five years immediately preceding independence, and the ten years afterwards, were years of concern about human resource development and the development of a diversified economy. The main objectives of the immediate post colonial governments were to achieve development of human resources, develop the social services and diversify the economy. The constraints were an economy that depended on imports for a modern standard of living and which had a poor economic and social infrastructure, dominated by agriculture. Agricultural exports therefore played an important role in earning foreign currency needed for the purchase of materials and services that Jamaica did not produce.

The period referred to above was characterised by a dependence on market forces for the development of the economy. But the strain on economic development was acute because of population growth, shortage of capital and low consumer demand which could not be increased quickly. There was no incentive to invest in any form of production except in cases where capital was attracted by cheap labour to produce goods for export. It was a situation from which it was difficult to escape.

None of the remedies up to 1968 included additional state spending; the emphasis was on attracting private capital which did not materialise in terms of the establishment of labour intensive industries, and

unemployment, which was already high, continued to increase. The governments of the period may have viewed education as important to development, because it was already recognised in North America as a contributory factor. If they did it was not incorporated into public policy.

From the 1970's, however, education began to feature as a government objective. Notably 'free' primary and high school education became part of the development objective in the 1970-75 development plan. This covers the period of JAMAL's establishment, although literacy and distance education was not specifically mentioned. For the first time between 1957 and 1982 education was specifically included in one of Jamaica's development plans which co-incided with the objective of reducing unemployment to less than five per cent during the plan period, (1970 to 1975).

The tendency by developing countries to produce development plans was recognised by Kashoki who commented that:

In recent years, particularly in nations categorised as developing economic development has characteristically taken place under the aegis of "development plans". Two notable features influence economic development: first, "the theoretical ideologies"; secondly: there are the "development plans". (Kashoki, 1978: 209).

Education was expected to play a role in improving the economic and social well-being of the population and foster a social consensus, which was all part of the general strategy for improved standards and a reduction in unemployment. Indeed some of the constraints noted by the government in attaining its objectives of social and economic development were unemployment and shortage of skilled labour, which could be remedied with trainable literate people. The consensus required would also be achievable if people had more access to the information put out by the government because this would create the common understanding necessary for development. Distance education could not only provide the background necessary for the acquisition of skills but it could, it was believed, also help to forge the consensus that governments need.

The common understanding or consensus is the kind of government approach that Kashoki refers to as:

development that encompasses questions of preserving and promoting one's own cultural heritage, forging national identity, and ensuring

national unity. As national goals are often in conflict it would seem therefore important that an overall cultural policy to direct and regulate the future of cultural development should be enunciated at the earliest possible moment if a nation is to avoid serious political conflict. (Kashoki, 1978: 210).

The development plan for 1978-82 had less ambitious objectives than the 1970-75 plan. The 1978-82 plan was interested in the achievement of a modest three to four per cent annual growth and a reduction of unemployment to fifteen per cent. It may be a case of stating the obvious but the consensus on which previous plans were based did not materialise and serious conflict was not avoided. Negative growth in the economy, high inflation, high interest rates, resulted in a growth in unemployment. The 1990-95 Development Plan however restates the 1978-82 Development Plan as far as it affects consensus and points to attitudinal change as an important agent in development of the economy and society generally.

Consensus within developing countries is often believed to be necessary for political stability and economic development and education has also been traditionally regarded as the instrument through which these objectives may be achieved. Thompson was aware of this as a strategy in his study of the issues affecting African development. He argued:

Whatever strategy is dominant in nation-building policy, education has been seen as a major instrument for achieving the goals of unity, political stability and equality of opportunity and for circumventing situations which may give rise to conflict. This is partly because the problem is seen as being in large part, though not entirely, in the minds of men and the hope has been that young people may be effectively socialised into the national culture or made aware of the desirability of maintaining the national political framework through the education they may receive. (Thompson, 1981: 55-6).

In Jamaica the hope is expressed that distance education will play a major role in achieving consensus, while formal schooling is equipped to assist in the same task. Problems occur, however, because formal agreement on what should constitute the consensus is difficult to achieve. The political forces that form the government from time to time have different ideas of what that consensus ought to be and furthermore a consensus could lead to a reduction of political control, if it was achieved through education.

The Economy

The dependence on foreign exchange and the market economy was seen as the way of developing the economy from 1962 and continued until 1975, for

thirteen years after independence. Then the objective of establishing a mixed economy was mooted and included as part of the next Five Year Development Plan. This was seen as the way to remove social constraints and cultural dichotomy, which, along with capital shortage and low levels of demand, were regarded as constraints on development in the economy.

That meant that the government would take a stake in the development of the economy which it had started to do, until the election of 1980, in defence of the new social and economic policy being pursued.

Education and the Needs of the Population

In the 1990-95 Development Plan the government made explicit its educational principles. These are:

1. The right of all individuals to education and training opportunities in order to develop their innate, creative and intellectual capabilities.
2. The vital role of education as a tool for social change and stability.
3. Education as a desired end of society, and therefore a social good.

The Development Plan shows a growing recognition that the educational needs of the population had not been met nor had they been satisfied during the period 1970 to 1990 even with the addition of distance education by the Ministry of Education and JAMAL, from 1973 to 1980.

The role of education, which includes distance education, was to be central to the government's development and social strategy. It would be used for the inculcation of values the government regarded as desirable and for training, which the state believed was necessary for development purposes and should be available to all as a matter of right.

Present Objectives: 1990-95

The document states that over the next five years the main thrust of the development plan for education will be:

1. To foster qualitative improvement in basic education (grades 1-6) and expand pre-primary education.
2. Rationalise secondary education by providing a common core curriculum in grades 7-9.

3. Eradicate illiteracy through the expansion of JAMAL's adult literacy programme.
4. Introduce a cost recovery scheme at the secondary and tertiary levels. (see Chapter Five.)
5. Decentralize and improve the management function to foster operational efficiency and effectiveness and increase community participation.

Whilst setting out the educational objectives for this development period there was a recognition that compulsory education at the primary level had not been totally effective since 1983. Students at this level were attending school for, on average, between 4 years and 4.3 years, out of a total attendance period of six years. It is notable that enforcement of primary school attendance was not taking place during the period of the closing of the teacher-upgrading programme, and the reduction in JAMAL's role at improving the rate of literacy. The loss of between 1.7 and 2 years schooling at primary level coupled with what the document describes as the use of para-professionals for early childhood education, based in basic schools, resulted in a "large number of functionally illiterate children coming out of the primary schools". Increasing JAMAL's role and effectiveness during the Plan period is therefore essential if the post 1980's illiterates are to be provided with reading skills.

The overall responsibility for doing this lies with the Ministry of Education and is also directly related to government policy in the 1990/95 Development Plan, which sees teacher education as making a contribution, especially in meeting the educational needs in rural schools. It is an example of how distance education has developed from being seen as necessary for the education of school students, through to serving the needs of teachers and pupils, to being abandoned and then re-instated, as changed political circumstances make this possible, as education standards decline or remain static and members of different political parties form the government.

Rural Schools and Education

In Jamaica, rural schools are those schools that are situated away from parish capitals. They are badly served and have poor communication infrastructure. the roads are impassible for most of the year and public transport and telephones are non-existent. Health provision and sanitation are not always of the highest order. These conditions give rise to a shortage

of teachers, especially in shortage subjects, and distance education is increasingly being seen, as a way of alleviating the situation until resources make it possible for conditions to be improved. Immediate beneficiaries of an improvement in rural education are the pupils who would be provided with an improved education and better physical conditions, but ultimately the whole education system and the society.

A distance education service having inadequate communication with the rural areas will tend to benefit only those people in the urban areas because of the relative ease with which urban teachers can attend the centres for the face-to-face component of their courses and the relative ease with which they can make contact through the use of telephone.

Preparing teachers for work in rural schools has a greater possibility of attracting external funding, because it is situated within the area of education that international funding agencies, (for example, UNESCO, the World Bank) have all argued merits priority, when dealing with improvements in education standards. When discussing the issue of primary education the inadequacy of the educational background of many primary school teachers is often seen as a major constraint on the quality of education being offered.

The upgrading of teacher qualifications is identified as part of the solution which is targeted for receiving support from the government in its present Five Year Plan. This particularly applies to primary school teachers but because there are also all age schools with a shortage of qualified teachers these same teachers who have their qualifications upgraded may, and sometimes do, find themselves teaching in the secondary sector, simply as a consequence of teaching in an all age school where acute problems of shortage still exist.

The current distance education programme, however, is not for the provision of additional teachers; although it was recognised that there were not enough teachers in the system, when the number produced by all the teacher education institutions was taken into consideration. The immediate concentration was on upgrading in order to improve the quality of education in rural schools. The provision of an educated and literate work force could be achieved at basic education level with a supply of adequately trained teachers in sufficient numbers that an expansion of higher distance education facilities would help to provide. The possibility therefore of

satisfying present and potential needs of the labour market, which was not all directly under government control, was believed to be possible.

This is emphasised in the Five Year Development Plan. In its operational plan on development in primary, secondary and tertiary education, the objectives were to attain levels of literacy, numeracy, learning skills and social skills so that benefits could be achieved at all stages of educational development but equally there would be an inter-relationship between the levels of educational attainment. For that to be possible:

students, on completion of primary education will have acquired literacy, numeracy and learning and social skills (JFYDP 1990-1995: 90)

and this would involve:

expanding the use of radio and television programmes to enrich and support the curriculum. (ibid: 91)

According to the development plan primary education would benefit from distance teaching although at this level there would be continuous face to face involvement.

For secondary education the objectives are similar to that of primary education with the addition that standards would be raised to enable the students to benefit from tertiary education or enter the labour market with literacy and numeracy skills that would enable them to be trained in skills of their choice or in ones that were needed. The strategies to be employed in the delivery of secondary education did not emphasise distance education but suggested scholarships for teachers to attend a variety of tertiary institutions including the University of the West Indies and a role for UWIDITE. However, there is a recognition that education and training for the secondary teacher is essential and that distance teaching and other methods will be employed in the provision of the 'high quality' teachers the schools need.

Tertiary Education

The term 'tertiary education' is described as post secondary education and subsumes higher education. According to the Five Year Development Plan (1990-95):

this level of education is characterised by a diversity of institutional types and an array of autonomous institutions which account for a very low percentage of enrolment among Jamaican educational institutions. (JFYDP 1990:91)

This low percentage is of concern to the government which wants to have an expansion in tertiary education as part of its development plan during the Plan period. Although, according to the government:

enrolment has been rising in recent times, it [the rise] accounts for less than 3 per cent of the total number of students, the rise in enrolment has not benefited the economy since output declined from 3,458 graduates in 1985 to 3,434 in 1989. (ibid)

The graduates referred to are graduates of all tertiary institutions. The change in the output of graduates does not represent a high failure rate even when the 3 per cent increase in student intake is taken into account but it nevertheless influences the government in respect of the efficiency and cost effectiveness of the system. Jamison shows an awareness of the situation by pointing to the problems that low income countries share, some of which are:

rising costs, fiscal constraints which limit budget growth. They have a low quality of education, they provide a low quality of education, they exhibit a slow response in providing education relevant to development goals and they provide inadequate access to many groups--rural people, the poor, and those who must leave school to contribute to their family's earnings. (Jamison, 1982 :253)

These constitute problems that are in need of remedial action which the government believes should begin at the secondary level where, it is thought, a better quality of education will have an effect in reducing waste.

The objectives of tertiary education in the Five Year Development Plan are stated to be to:

- i. meet the manpower needs of the country in an efficient manner.
- ii. improve research capacity and put emphasis on science and technology at the University of the West Indies.
- iii. provide equal opportunities for all students.
- iv. improve the quality of teacher education.
- v. collaboration between tertiary level institutions. (JFYDP, 1990: 91).

Among the strategies for achieving an increase in student numbers is an extension in the use of distance education through UWIDITE which will

increase the use of distance education for tertiary education sufficiently for distance education to be at the centre of educational development. This extension of tertiary education through distance teaching methods will help to provide the quality of teachers the secondary schools need. There is also a linking of the objectives of tertiary education with other objectives such as those for literacy.

Literacy and Adult Education

Literacy and adult education are also part of the development plan stated as JAMAL's main function. After a period of downturn in JAMAL's work, noted in the previous chapter, changes were intended which could mean more of JAMAL's employees being employed as support staff ensuring school attendance and assisting developments in skills training.

The Five Year Development Plan 1990/95 re-states the former position of JAMAL and links it with adult education. It states:

For the purposes of this plan, adult education is regarded as non-formal education, organised outside of the established education and training system. In recent years approximately 75 government and non-government agencies and organisations have been involved in implementing adult education centred around adult literacy, craft and skills training. The adult literacy programme administered by JAMAL constitutes the main area of emphasis with an average annual enrolment of 15,600. Although these programmes have rendered approximately 250,000 persons literate over the past 17 years it is estimated that there is still a large number of people, many of these primary school leavers, who are functionally illiterate. (JFYDP, 1990: 93)

The development plan therefore recognises primary, secondary, tertiary and adult non-formal education as being an integral part and having a central role to play in the Five Year Development Plan which needs to be carried out with a combination of distance and face-to-face teaching. Illiteracy now is being viewed more as a problem for schools than for literacy organisations that are independent of the formal education sector.

The Minister of Education and a former director of JAMAL have made references to the quality of school education to bring illiteracy under control, although not abandoning the need to address the problem as it exists at the present time. Successfully applied, the raising of standards in schools and a reduction in the number of illiterate young adults coming out of the school system, will help to reduce the pressures for literacy work with young adults

who have left school, while at the same time qualifying those school leavers for skills training.

Skills Training and Literacy

The formation and implementation of the policy to provide skills training is based on the increasing emphasis being placed on the integration of skills training and literacy.

The skills in which the students were trained cover a wide area listed in a JAMAL leaflet as:

Agriculture	Machine embroidery
Auto Mechanic	Plumbing
Basketry	Electrical Repairs
Candy Making	Sewing
Cookery	Straw Work
Crochet	Bamboo Craft
Home Management	Table Waiting
Lithography	Woodwork.

The literacy and skills training programme recruited and trained over 1000 people since 1982, some of whom have found employment either as self employed people or as an employee in existing industries. These skills are low level skills and, while they may be of some immediate benefit to the individuals, what they will contribute to national development and the extent to which the individual can be sustained by these skills, in the long term, is uncertain.

Ahmed argues for a broad based view of functionality because, he says:

it is obvious that conventional literacy courses or campaigns concentrate only on one or two facets of the functional purposes of literacy. The full range of functional purposes of literacy can be served only when the literacy activities are made part of a larger effort designed to introduce and improve basic services and activate a process of self sustaining social and economic development. (Ahmed, 1985: 382)

The extent to which literacy, linked to the skills above, can provide the basis for self-sustaining social and economic development is questionable in a period when technological changes are continuously occurring. Low level skills training may help to provide temporary respite, and therefore a breathing space, to the owner of those skills and to the government. The

foundations for larger, more sustaining effort can be laid as part of the overall strategy for further development. The overall strategy needs to be clear so that it can be evaluated for meeting known objectives.

However educational policies and concerns in the English speaking Caribbean have never been for radical changes in those societies. Policies formulated in the immediate post independence period were based on the existing colonial policies and driven by a reforming consensus in the 1970's within the ex-colonial countries of the region. It is a consensus that Hall, writing about reformism in the British situation, noted:

has been driven apart by its own internal contradictions Reformism did command a wide assent in the years after the Second World War. It set the terms in which educational practice developed it established the framework for the educational debate in the mid-1960's. It initiated the move towards comprehensive schooling. But it also presented itself as an educational programme appropriate to modern capitalist economy, a modernising society. (Hall, 1981: 10)

It was part of this kind of influence that led to the examination of the question of literacy in Jamaica. The issue was not the building of an alternative society with a different type of economy or alternative control, but a society and economy that was more efficient, based upon having the requisite literacy and practical skills required for the building of a modern economy within the status quo. The development strategies being pursued now can also be seen as a way of developing within the status quo. Questions are not asked about the nature of the education or the nature of the development being pursued. It is being applied within the existing framework as if this framework is sacrosanct.

The problems arise of what exactly are the requisite skills and how the employment of whatever skills are developed will be determined. A great deal of emphasis was placed on self-employment and in this area there was a very small amount of activity based upon tourism and anchored in tourist areas where craft markets developed. This was never sufficient economic activity to satisfy the needs of a poor nation just emerging from colonialism and without an industrial base under the control of the local people. This of course increased the vulnerability of the employed as Manley (1991) argued, and at times caused economic dislocation.

The education policies that were set out in order to win national support forged a large amount of 'consensus' within Jamaican society but not

everyone could reap benefits from it and not everyone supported it. The understanding that policies need time to be applied and even more time for benefits to accrue to individuals is a very difficult one to argue, especially when those who advocate patience do not appear to suffer deprivation in any way. It was therefore possible, using Hall's reasoning, to challenge the assumptions on which 'consensus' was forged and to offer alternative forms of training of a practical nature at the expense of training that appears less practical.

In the case of Jamaica in the 1970's, while ideology may have appeared to be shaping the education policies of the government, the underlying economic base remained and that, as Hall argued, determined real educational policy. He suggests that:

so long as the fundamental social and economic relationships of a society remain intact education will tend to obey the logic of that system. Education will be harnessed and made to conform, by means of certain specific mechanisms, not simply to the interests of particular groups or classes but to the dominant tendencies of the whole system. (Hall, op. cit.)

It is a view that suggests that in a social formation such as that existing in Jamaica the purpose of education would be to serve the present policies which were developed and inculcated for extension of individual ownership of property and wealth. But this was being done in conditions where individual ownership of land was limited to a minority of people.

The Question of Ownership.

Land, for example, was at the centre of the ownership question and was important during the 1970's, and in some cases lands were seized by people who thought that they should own it. The seizure of land was never supported by the governments in Jamaica at that or any other time because support for land seizure would be one way of changing the social and economic relations in the society and also undermine the social structure. That was never part of any government policy, and adopting it would mean the loss of its, traditionally articulate, support in the middle class.

Coates pointed out that:

Education itself will not solve the problem of poverty. The social structure that generates poverty generates its own shabby education system to serve it and while it is useful to attack the symptom, the

disease itself will continually find new manifestations if it is not understood and remedied. (Coates, 1970: 61)

If, therefore, the social structure in Jamaica generates poverty, and there is plenty of poverty around, then the social structure needs changing and should be only one pace behind the education that enables the management of orderly change. The government's position was that the ownership of land should be decided in an orderly way, meaning that the redistribution of land should be decided by the government, who would buy the land and then have it redistributed to the people over a period of time, those people repaying the cost of the land by instalments with 'low' interest. It was a situation in which the politics of the government, when acted out by the people, who were losing patience, was frowned on by the government. In other words the social structure was paramount.

Ownership of wealth was never re-distributed in favour of the poor either by increased productivity or any other means. A number of hotels, that were loss making enterprises, were bought up by the government but the 'power to the people' slogans that were a dominant theme of 1970's led to many more privileged people feeling that they were under threat and they left Jamaica. Education was encouraged and expanded using distance teaching methods and financed by the government. This expansion included teacher education and JAMAL, which received an 'unlimited' and undisclosed sum of money for its expansion and development, but did not lead to changes in the ownership of property and wealth in Jamaica.

After the 1980 election a different political party, the Jamaica Labour Party, became the government without a publicly understood or stated policy except that the leader of that party was a 'financial wizard' and as a result of this wizardry would be able to establish a more efficient economy and transform the country's fortunes.

With the new government much of the education innovation, including distance education and the literacy campaign put in place by the People's National Party when they were in government were eroded on the grounds, it was argued, that the previous government had left the country bankrupt. The ending of priority status for education meant that this service was affected by cuts in public expenditure equally with other services. In Chapters Four and Six it was seen that the teachers' distance education programme was terminated and the beginning of JAMAL's ninety per cent staff and service reduction commenced. This caused problems for public

sector education. Teachers left teaching because their already low pay declined sharply and those remaining in the education service began to supplement their pay with other forms of employment.

The extent to which any policy implementation was questioned by the opposition was doubtful. The People's National Party went through a period of reflection in which it was 'discovered' that they did not really believe in things like the public ownership of anything and were ready to effect changes. The leader of the People's National Party soon after regaining the role of government came to Nottingham and at a public meeting there said:

sometimes it is good to be out of government because it allows for a period of reflection. What we were doing was to drive away from the country the very people who are capable of building it. (Manley: May, 1992)

It was a new situation in which private business would be encouraged and so would divestment, which means the selling of property owned by the government. In Britain it is known as privatisation. Private business was to be encouraged and given a free hand to develop and expand without a great deal of government interference. The free market ideology to which the Jamaica Labour Party has always laid claim was now explicitly the ideology of the People's National Party in government and as the opposition. It may be said that one party has a free market with a 'human face' but on the substantive issues, the ideology is similar. Out of the newly established economic environment enough revenue would be generated from greater productivity and increased wealth to pay for the education, which included distance education, and other social policies that the government wished to put in place. These are political decisions by all leading political parties in Jamaica based on their common ideology.

Some Political Questions

An examination of the political issues will help to explain why decisions are taken to use particular kinds of distance education in developing countries, why there are difficulties and sometimes why projects either fail or are abandoned.

The expansion of distance education in developed countries was taking place at the time developing countries were becoming independent and

politicians, educational theorists and practitioners had begun to accept it as offering real possibilities of educating large numbers of people at lower cost. It seemed to have been accepted by developing countries that radio and television could be used to solve their educational problems, because they have the potential to reach their people wherever they are and because other, mainly developed, countries have used them. Sometimes too, as Halliwell (1987) suggested, the distance education technology is so attractively packaged it is difficult to refuse. One interviewee suggests that when money is offered for a project, it always seems better to take the money and go ahead with the project even if that project does not fit in with what you want to do.

In developing countries the bulk of the expenses for distance education are paid by the government and consequently upturn or down turn in support for distance education will depend on the orientation of the political party in power, the nature of political discussions, the state of the country's economy and the quality and influence of the educational discussions. The political discussions may inhibit or generate change depending on the ideology of the political formations, but sometimes changes come because of inherited attitudes.

Guy suggests that:

the political basis of distance education cannot be ignored. Few private distance-education organisations have been established in the developing world so government initiation of programmes and funding arrangements are vital. At present the use of the majority of resources in the formal distance-education sector probably explains a great deal more about the views of government towards national development and existing power structures within society than about the role of distance education in the developing world. (Guy, 1991: 161)

The need to understand the political processes involved is important to any analysis of distance education in developing countries because very often it is the political processes and conditions that determine whether a project is initiated, continues or is discarded. That process is active at the local, national and international level. Even when financial resources are scarce the political process is important because it is through that process that educational priorities are determined. The state of the economy may be used to justify cosmetic treatments or big changes in the direction of distance education, but the main thrust in policy matters has an ideological base.

Distance education organisations which appear free of the government's control, in that they enjoy a high degree of autonomy, for example the University of the West Indies Distance Teaching Experiment, are also subject to internal and external political pressures. The internal and external pressures are linked to demands from the government for greater output of relevant skills, when it needs to accelerate its development programme, and from having to be responsive to the needs and requirements of external funding agencies. The organisations' internal debates of how to respond to the demands made on them also create pressures and set up tensions. In that sense political energy is released in the organisation when it is required to make changes, to facilitate its development because of the pressures exerted on it.

Pettigrew argues that:

Considering the organisation as political directs attention towards the factors which facilitate and hinder change and to the reason why political energy is often released within the firm at even the prospect, never mind the reality of change. (Pettigrew, 1985: 38)

The tensions set up within the University of the West Indies as a result of the introduction and possible extension of distance education are evident in the discussions involving possible changes. Some of those tensions have already been cited in Chapter Five. They are about the status of distance education, how it is controlled and the role of participating faculties. Other tensions are about: how any increased workload may be distributed, the production of teaching materials, what will be counted for promotion purposes, possible changes to university regulations in order to incorporate changes in working conditions, status of distance education staff and students, the value of qualifications and whether a fair system can be devised given the already heavy workload of University staff.

Political discussions may also occur about the nature of the contribution that the University is required to make through distance teaching. The nature of the contribution will be determined by the relationship between the government and the University, the resources that are available, and the kinds of limitations that are placed on the expansion needed to assist in development.

These discussions and tensions do not have ideological bases separate from the society in which they exist. The questions are raised and the discussions

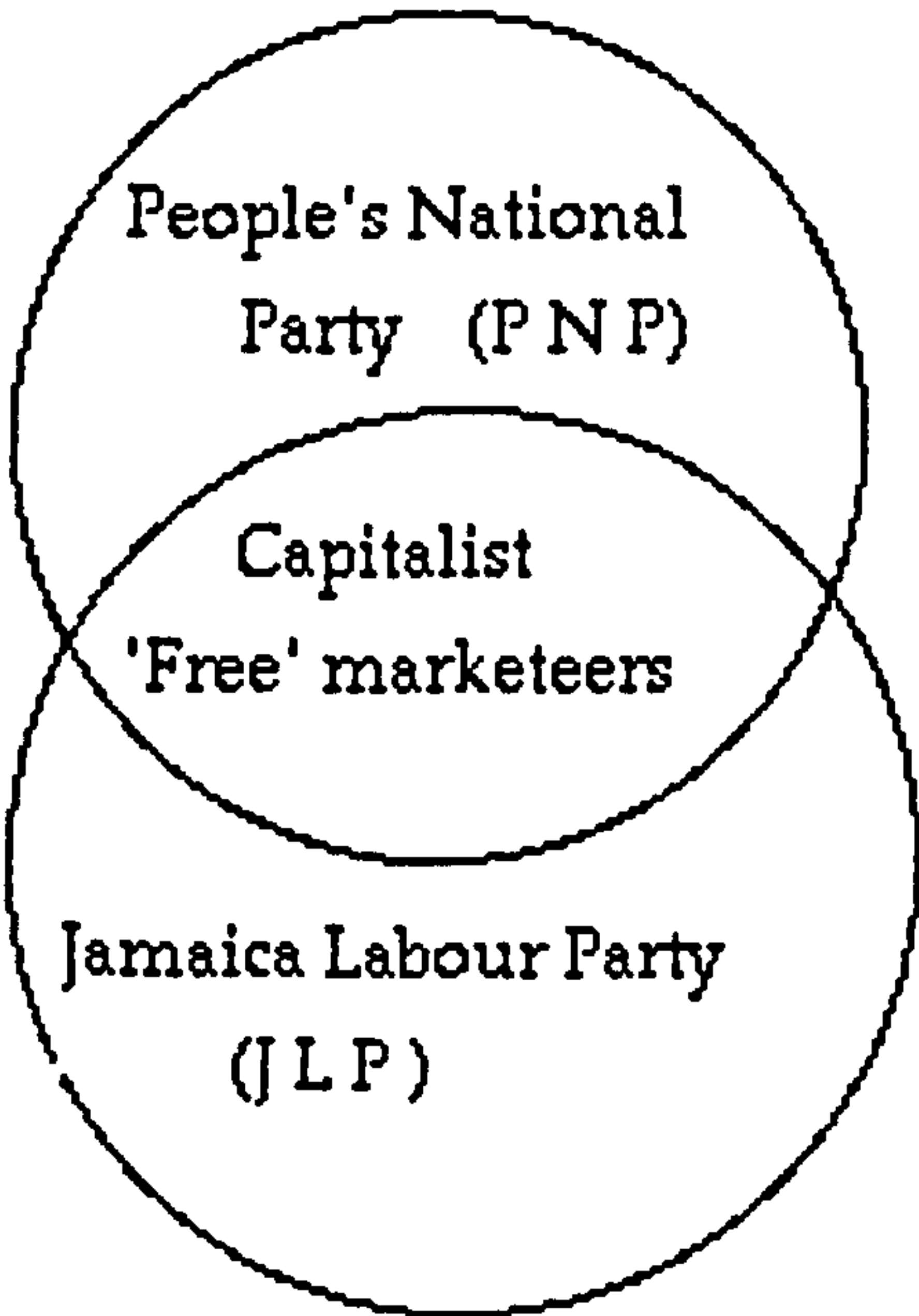
that ensue have an element of self interest expressed within the context of a particular institution and society. They are neither supportive of governments or opposition political parties and are expressed as concerns that are central to the status of the institution, the well-being of its staff and concern for the well-being of students. In this respect the kinds of political energy generated in an institution such as the University of the West Indies would be expressed in terms of the demands made on it, rather than to the ideology of any political party.

The following figure illustrates the ideological position of the two political parties.

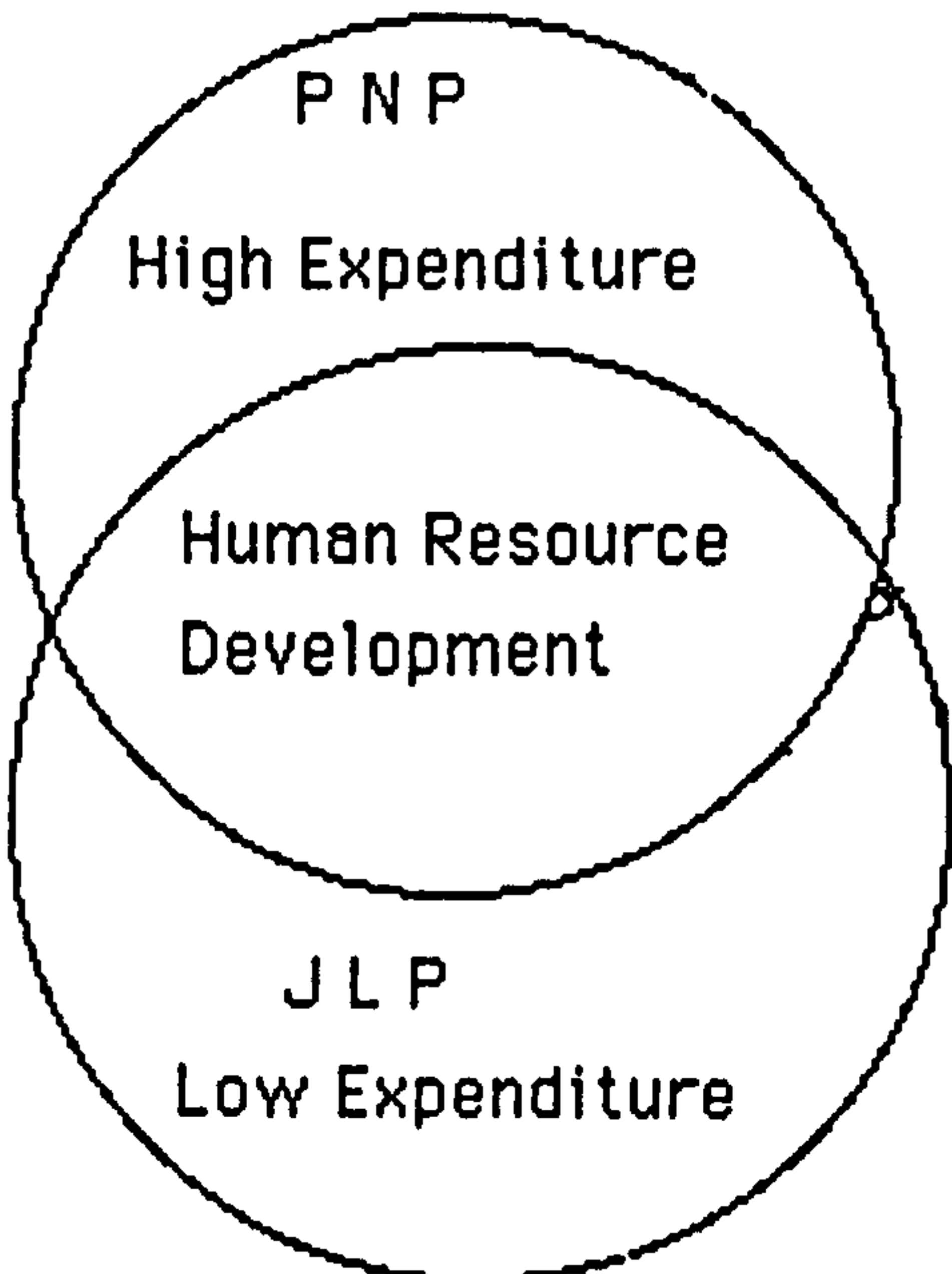
Ideological Overlap Between Political Parties on Policies

Fig. 7.1

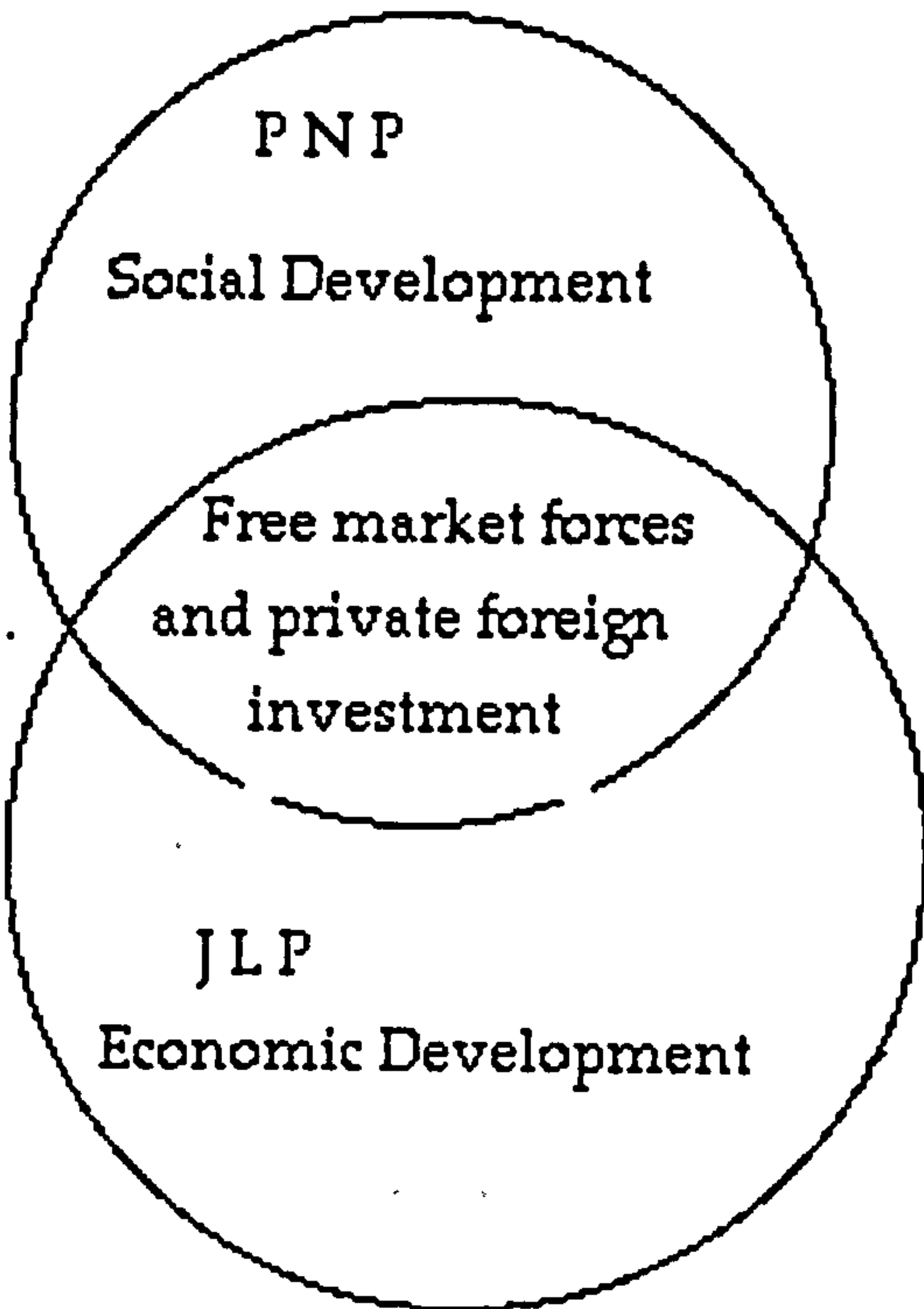
Political Parties



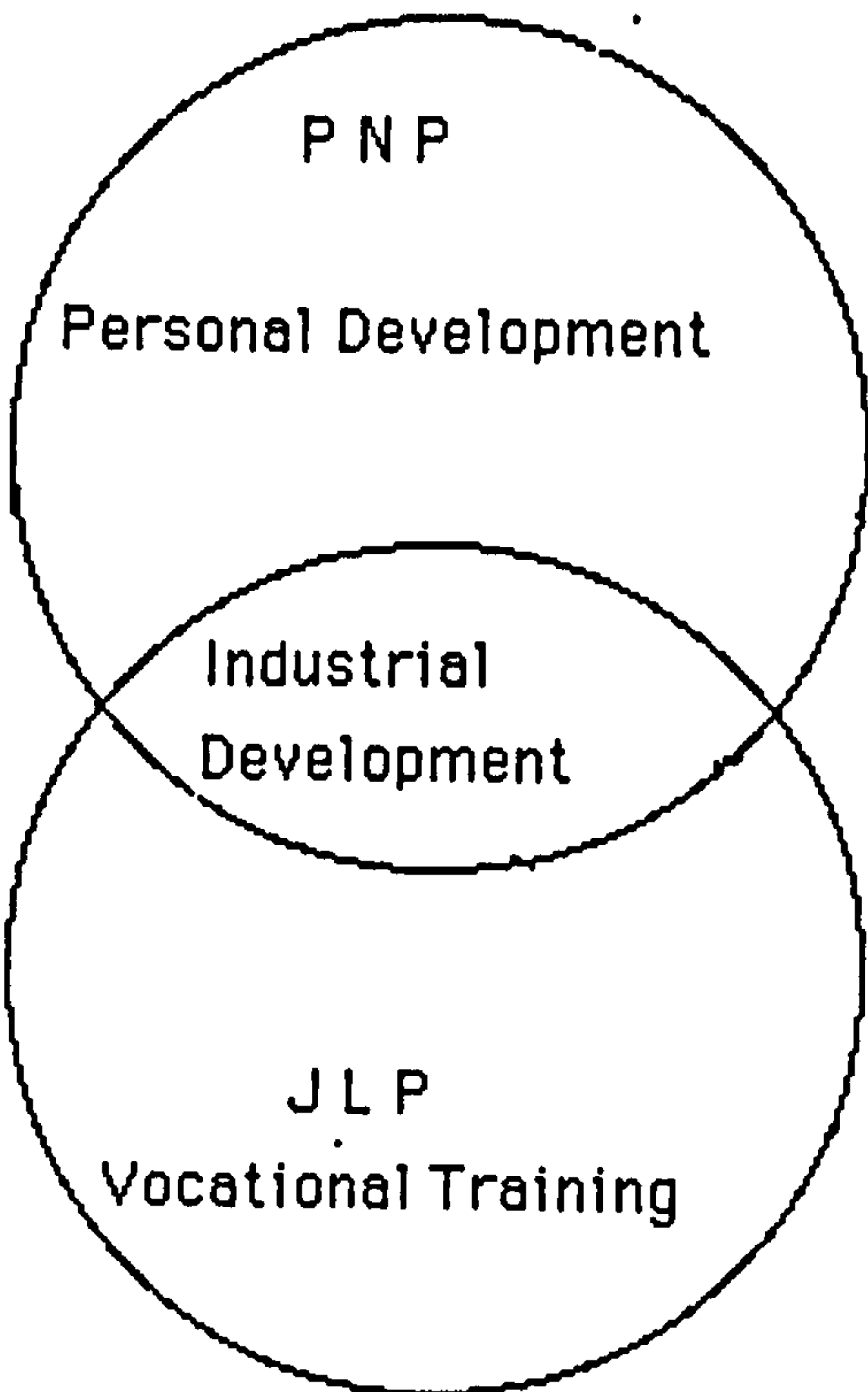
Education Policies and Expenditure



**Development Strategies
(Economic and Industrial)**



Educational Needs



The attitude to education and training is also a way in which different approaches to education and training may be understood. One political party, the JLP, sees education as a way of producing compliant labour for particular purposes and therefore vocational training becomes the focus. In this case skills training may be provided in such a way that it is geared to a particular industry or firm, with the trainee being able to perform certain tasks with little possibility of adapting that training to any other purpose, or future need. It is a situation in which the employee remains at a disadvantage in his or her relationship with the employer.

The other party, the PNP, sees education and training in a wider sense. The recipient of education and training is in a position to acquire a variety of skills because he or she can follow written instructions and extract essential pieces of information, making him or her a versatile and a more independent person. The intention here is to provide a pool of trained and trainable labour, that is, labour that can adapt when new skills are needed and old ones become obsolete. This type of training has the potential to overcome the uncertainties caused when the government is unable to decide exactly what skills are required.

Rural Development and Literacy [in the Development Plan].

Distance education for purposes of literacy and teacher education is a government initiative and this form of education is dependent on the government for financing. For literacy, the assistance of individuals within communities plays a key role in generating interest and making literacy a subject for popular support. This support from the public does not mean that considerable sums of private money are contributed.

The organisation of individuals in generating interest in literacy is related to the Cuban experience where people were mobilised on a mass scale. However the lesson may also have been learned that mobilisation, with the people having the power to make immediate decisions and execute them, may run contrary to the wishes and policies of the state. When that happens the seed of conflict is sown between the people and the state. Although there is a genuine desire to develop education and literacy to or near a level achieved by the industrially advanced nations, there is a desire to achieve this level of literacy and educational development under tight state control and influence.

The problem is that when the freedom to acquire and use information is achieved, awkward questions sometimes occur about delays in acting on information. The answers can then take on a political character about the superior nature of government information and the need to avoid unpleasant situations. One such situation occurred in 1975 in Jamaica when the government was providing written and verbal information about the need for the landless to have access and to own land as part of the government's development strategy during its period of radical initiatives.

People in various parts of Jamaica agreed with the government, who at that time had a radical position on such issues. A number of people became impatient and began to seize idle land. The government then felt that it had a duty to bring such illegal acts to an end. Although the government's development plan saw literacy, skills training and the redistribution of land as part of its development strategy, especially rural development, the pace of change was to be under tight government control.

Attempts at rural development in Jamaica have been piece-meal. This meant that there was inconsistency and no indication of the direction any development was intended to take. In most cases attempts at rural development were in response to a crisis or at periods approaching a general or local election. There were no pilot studies as to the kinds of models that would most effectively assist development and neither were models selected from elsewhere as successful examples of rural development.

As part of a rural development package a World Bank Report on Jamaica's rural development suggested that:

better transportation infrastructure, particularly roads and public transportation, is sorely needed ... to not only increase economic efficiency in general but also to improve the opportunities for the rural poor to participate in the market economy as sellers of agricultural output and as employees. (World Bank Report, 1994: viii)

The lack of communication infrastructure causes frustration, especially to farming communities, some of whom have found it difficult and sometimes impossible to transport their produce to the market. There is therefore the requirement for policies which are explicit in details on the

major issues of what people's needs are, linked to action designed to satisfy those needs. Satisfying the needs of the people cannot be achieved with 'trickle down or piecemeal policies' that are responses designed to satisfy immediate complaints. Piece-meal actions by their very nature cannot be monitored for their usefulness or contribution to development.

The World Bank also regards participation in the market economy as important to development because it can then be counted as part of the Gross Domestic Product. The concentration on the market economy tells us nothing about the size of the informal economy or about standards of living of the rural people who are the main participants in the informal economy. Indeed, the Report tells us that a large section of the rural population participating in the formal economy are the employed poor. Participation in the formal economy for many rural people is therefore not attractive without supplements from the informal sector. Teachers often fall into this category. With low salaries, teachers in the rural areas often supplement their earnings with work outside the formal sector.

Long term policies about participation in the formal sector of the economy require education, which the Report recognises. The education needs to encompass literacy and numeracy and it also needs to generate an economic culture which shows the market place as an important place for wealth creation, for individual and collective benefit. As yet however what seems to be operating, in the Jamaican context, are statements of intentions which appear to be on the basis of incrementalism, 'muddling through' as Lindbholm (1979) puts it.

Even on an important issue, such as unemployment, muddle exists. While the rate of unemployment was changing, going down according to the government and up according to the Statistical Institute of Jamaica (STATIN) the number of vocationally trained people was increasing slightly. However there is disagreement between STATIN and the government about the level of unemployment, which is a source of confusion about the amount of development that is taking place in relation to unemployment reduction.

The Gleaner previously reported a speech by the Minister of Labour and Welfare in which she said:

There are 750,000 Jamaicans below the poverty line but the Ministry of Labour and Welfare is only able to touch 355,000, (Gleaner, 20. 6. 93)

This means that the government were unable to give help to 395,000 people.

According to a World Bank Report, (March, 1993) Jamaica had reduced poverty by more than 50 per cent in the 1980's. The Report showed that while 842, 000 Jamaicans were living below the poverty line of US\$60.00 per month in 1980, the number fell to 237,000 by 1989.

The fall in the number of people below the poverty line of US\$60.00 per month between 1980 and 1989 is significant but the 20th June Report, by the Minister, that there were 750,000 people below the poverty line seems contradictory to the World Bank Report. The report is presented at a time when it is argued that in other influential Caribbean countries the situation is not as good as it is in Jamaica. There is considerable confusion about the level of poverty which exists and confusion in the way information is presented. If skills training and literacy are considered as possible approaches to alleviate poverty then a first step is to be able to state the problem clearly. This is particularly important if distance teaching methods are to be employed in rural areas where illiteracy and lack of training present major difficulties.

Literacy and Knowledge

The literacy campaign in rural areas is intended to enable people to acquire and use knowledge for personal and environmental benefits and for development. Bauman (1980) distinguishes two types of knowledge; knowledge for work and for communication. Knowledge for work has an environmental basis while that for communication is concerned with meaning and understanding. The concept of work and understanding are not necessarily at opposite poles however, because to understand through communication *is work* for large numbers of people. In the case of the literacy project the knowledge that is being appropriated is intended for work and should include communication and understanding.

Communication as work is also part of an interactive process which has been recognised as a necessary element of development. In the distance education programmes, intended for the people in rural areas, there is no distinction between whether the education is for development or communication. It is possible for education to serve both purposes as complementary to one another.

Providing education for rural development may not of itself be successful if positive attitudes to practical work are not encouraged. Practical education is regarded as inferior and lacks status. Even in the situation where lands were seized or where collectives were established in Jamaica, it was difficult to get people to understand that the land they now occupied needed the application of physical labour for it to be productive.

It is clearly a situation needing education and one in which distance teaching methods could be employed through the use of radio and television. It is a way in which the needs of the adults involved can be sensitively approached. Such an approach has been suggested by Hargreaves to be:

to go into the market place and the streets behind and to offer to meet what was needed ... There is we believe a greater recognition that what we should offer to our fellow adults is a joint two-way learning experience and help with acquiring strategies of learning. This is not limited to learning to read and write, but has been shown is applicable to other basic skills, for example, numeracy and life and social skills. (Hargreaves, 1980: 114-5)

The emphasis here is on involvement to bring about desirable changes in attitudes. Practical involvement with people at community level may be a way of achieving lasting changes. This practical involvement is a form of interaction and partial immersion of individuals in the situation in which they work. It is one for which volunteer teachers, linked to distance teaching, and who live in the communities could provide a service. Linking this approach into the development plan in such a way that volunteers are aware of themselves as participants, can assist and motivate others to participate.

Distance (Higher) Education for Development

The Five Year Development Plan (FYDP) drew attention to the increase in higher education student numbers and pointed out that:

The higher levels of the education system are characterized by inequities of access, inadequate numbers of qualified students to pursue certain courses; need for remediation; and shortfall in output of appropriately trained graduates especially in science, mathematics and technology. (FYDP, 1990: 88)

To the above may be added the inability to retain teachers, especially those

that are well qualified. The inability to retain well qualified teachers is recognised by the government as a serious problem with negative effects on the provision of sufficient students with the background to benefit from higher education. However the development plan has avoided the issue of pay that is arguably responsible for the low level of teacher retention. In a situation where academics in higher education are paid at salary levels five times that of the teacher in primary and secondary schools it is not surprising that qualified teachers leave teaching and seek employment elsewhere, especially while there is a reasonably high demand for educated and disciplined workers.

The expansion of UWIDITE as a way of facilitating an increase in student numbers is regarded as part of the solution to the problem of providing professionally skilled labour. One of the essential requirements of the Development Plan is to reduce wastage, achieve expansion and the maintenance of quality education within manageable cost. However there are also concerns about the ability of UWIDITE to make any significant contribution to reducing the shortage of appropriate skills because of the following:

1. By limiting the undergraduate students to those already matriculated it closes itself off from a wide range of potential talents and abilities in the West Indies.
2. The range of courses it offers should go beyond undergraduate and professional certificate courses in order that the scope of what is available may be broadened.
3. Non-extension of UWIDITE courses to include subjects of special interest which do not necessarily lead to certification.
4. The high cost of University education reduces the opportunities for students from a wide range of social and economic backgrounds.

General Comments

One of the main purposes and attractiveness of distance education in Jamaica is that it is regarded as helpful for overcoming teacher shortages, problems of mobility and in raising the standard of literacy.

The achievements so far suggest that more needs to be done for the aims of the Development Plan to be partially realised. Countable unemployment levels of 163,400 in 1990 decreased to 160,800 in January 1991 against a background of rising male unemployment. This was followed by a continued rise in unemployment in 1992 starting with total unemployment of 169,300 and ending with total unemployment of 171,500. The tendency therefore is that unemployment will continue to increase over the Plan period with no signs of development objectives being achieved.

In their determination to find a way of developing the country the Jamaican government has embraced the free market ideology in such a way that renders it now ideologically indistinguishable from the opposition political party. This new approach is, theoretically at any rate, in line with the current world developments and therefore should create the possibility of access to development resources that would have been unavailable otherwise. The contradiction is that favourable world conditions for free market ideology have been accompanied by a reduction in the assistance available to developing countries. The demands on the resources and the requests for help from other countries have increased, probably outstripping the assistance available. Developing countries are no longer a priority and are more towards the end of the line of countries prioritised as needing assistance compared with the ex Eastern block countries.

The next step is to see whether ideological convergence between political parties in Jamaica will lead to new policies, outcomes and continuity that reflect a positive attitude to distance education. In this particular period it is possible that charges of using distance education for political indoctrination could be made, but the ideological base from which those charges can be made are identical, for both political parties, and it remains to be seen whether educational development and innovations can now take place with cross-party support.

Questions of whether competing and opposition parties will be looking for individual solutions which serve the purpose of satisfying personal ambitions, rather than national ones, and therefore slow down any development in distance education taking place at the moment, based purely on grounds of personal power, become important.

In relation to the size of the economy, government support for education continues to be substantial, to such an extent that during recent periods of severe financial crisis the only public service to escape an actual reduction in income, because of cuts in public spending, was the education service. This is an indication that the government believes that education has its place in development even where the nature of that development is not clearly spelt out. Whether or not this attitude to education, which some will see as positive, can be linked to planned development, of the type required by the government, to which the donor countries and the funding institutions will agree, has yet to be tested.

Chapter 8 - Conclusions and Contribution.

Introduction

This chapter considers the evidence which has been discussed in the foregoing chapters and draws together the main points of the study in order to determine what conclusions can be drawn about the research questions identified in Chapter One.

Considering the advantages of distance education over traditional methods and the relationship of the main political parties to each other and to education is important for Jamaica because of the political rivalry and economic uncertainties that have affected Jamaica, especially when control of the limited resources is being contested.

Two fields of theories and models of distance education and development have contributed to the discussion and have been examined for their relevance to distance education in Jamaica. These fields of theories are:

1. Distance education theories.
2. Development theories.

The theories which were examined in Chapter Two are important to this thesis, because the reason for the application of distance education to the Jamaican situation was to assist with its development. Traditional education institutions have not satisfied the demand for skills and the schools have not provided enough young people with an educational background that would enable them to communicate effectively in writing, to avoid regression into illiteracy or to undertake further study independently.

The distance education theories examined are:

- (i) The industrialisation theory with which Peters is associated;
- (ii) The Communication and Interaction theories associated with Holmberg and Baath;
- (iii) The Autonomy and Independence theory associated with Wedermeyer.
- (iv) The models of Distance Education are the Institution, Person and

Society centred models. The classification of development was developed by Joyce, Weil and Bertrand, (cited in Rumble, 1986: 24) and matches education to the values of the society or educational institution (Chapter Two: 36).

The development models produced by Fagerland and Shaw which Daniel represented schematically have also provided a basis for examining distance education development in Jamaica. The theories were examined in relation to three distance teaching organisations: the Ministry of Education Teacher Upgrading Programme discussed in Chapter Four; the University of the West Indies Distance Teaching Experiment (UWIDITE) which Chapter Five discusses and the Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy (JAMAL) discussed in Chapter Six.

Theoretical Issues in Distance Education

The Industrialisation Theory

Based on a summary of Peters' ideas, the industrialisation theory does not adequately explain the development of distance education in the Jamaican situation. Industrialisation as a method of production presupposes division of labour, large scale production for large scale consumption and reliable communication infrastructure. The possibility of Peters' criteria being met in Jamaica, with the kinds of industrial infrastructure suggested by Peters, is not a reality and the industrial base is not yet sufficiently developed to produce for large scale distance education consumption. Course materials were produced by JAMAL for its literacy work but these materials were used mainly in face to face teaching.

In terms of the delivery of distance education, inadequate national communication infrastructure meant that contact between teacher and students had to wait until appointed times when personal contact would take place. The existence of literacy training centres without a telephone was commonplace, especially in rural areas, and contact could not be made with students in rural villages except through travel on unreliable public transport and very unsatisfactory roads which added considerably to travel time without any guarantee of arrival. A meeting at the end of a journey could not be guaranteed so the incentive to make such journeys could be eroded over time.

Distance education in Jamaica was, therefore, not being sustained by an industrialised form of production or distribution. The production units were small, operating expensively and inefficiently but in certain

were small, operating expensively and inefficiently but in certain circumstances providing that which could not have been provided otherwise. UWIDITE, for example, was established as an institution to cater for small numbers of students and at the same time accounted for the money provided for its establishment by USAID. Keegan (1990) argued that in systems where there are less than 10,000 enrolments per year one is naturally inclined towards a department of an existing institution but that beyond 20,000 enrolments a teaching school, college, or university is the favoured solution.

The total student membership of tertiary and higher education distance education organisations in Jamaica was never large enough on Keegan's criteria to merit separate institutions and one of them, the Teachers Upgrading Programme, was established for a limited period with relatively few teachers participating in the programme. Its period of existence was shortened by changed political and economic circumstances.

Distance education organisations in Jamaica were not conceived of as parts of any other organisation except for UWIDITE which was established as an experiment and, as the name suggests, part of the University of the West Indies. The distance education student population was always very small and in an immediate sense does not justify a separate institution and industrialised production methods and organisation.

The population of the whole Caribbean region may be in a position to provide that number of students, with present resources, to justify an industrialised method if that includes the production of all the education and teaching materials for the region. If a link were to be made between production of learning materials for distance and traditional education that would facilitate the development of an industrial form of production but as things are that is not the case.

One key element of industrialisation is the ability to mass produce, but for mass production to make economic sense there needs to be an effective mass market, [meaning many people should be in a position to buy what is produced] either internally and/or externally, whose needs can be satisfied by the particular product. A figure of over 10,000 students, which Keegan suggests, may exist in the Caribbean network of higher education inclusive of the numbers in distance education but not in any single higher education institution. The distance education system, in higher education, was

developed to cater for small numbers and its success rested on the participation of traditional academic institution staff.

In terms of two key elements of industrialisation, mass production and distribution, in order to achieve economies of scale, Peters' theory is inappropriate to the Caribbean and in particular the Jamaican situation. Distance education exists but the numbers involved are insufficient to enable materials production on a scale that make economies, through large scale production, possible. Zentai, using the Australian situation points out that:

Australia with a long tradition of distance education rejected the option of creating a national system of open tertiary education.....and expanded its dual mode approach. Because of the number of institutions involved many have very small student numbers and are unable to achieve economies of scale. (Zentai, 1993: 27)

The recognition is that a dual mode institution is more suitable for small distance teaching units and that where economies of scale are required, larger institutions may be created through mergers and when such mergers are created policies can also be implemented which make a division of labour possible. Both the division of labour and mass production go together to ensure industrialised production. This may be possible at a later date if distance education and the learning materials produced for it are integrated into a dual mode institution.

Qualified support given to distance education as an industrial form of education by Daniel, (1990: 108) arguing for a flexible approach in its application in developing nations, does offer an explanation in the Jamaican context. In UWIDITE, for example, there is no production or assembly of learning/teaching materials specifically for distance education. However the method employed in delivering distance education is a product of the industrial society and developing and marketing distance education products on a regional basis could be of some help in facilitating an industrial application if adequate communication infrastructure could be put in place.

Much of distance education in the industrialised countries can be understood as the industrialisation of education with large enough population and markets to justify large scale production and distribution but distance education in the developing countries without large

populations, without an industrial base and appropriate infrastructure, is not industrialised. Large developing countries with large populations may be able to develop an industrialised model, but again even in those situations there may be complex issues relating to the industrial base and the requisite infrastructure that would need addressing before a full scale form of industrialised distance education can be implemented.

It has been argued that it is possible to market courses which would create the basis for industrialisation and mass production. However the number of countries to which courses could be marketed are finite and the system would break down unless decisions of a political nature were taken to make the process industrial, with some countries buying in their learning/teaching materials from the countries producing them, a matter of long term policy, especially if a solid home based market did not exist to sustain it in times of difficult marketing conditions. The types of courses would also have to be designed to meet the needs of the particular nation for which they were being produced; a formidable task if there was an array of different requirements between the nations for which courses were being produced.

Marketing courses raises questions of affordability because export earnings would have to be used to buy in the courses. One of the difficulties continuously being expressed by developing countries is the need to earn hard currencies to finance their developments and to buy in courses could therefore affect their immediate development ambitions. The extent to which buying in courses could affect development policies in developing countries, which are short of hard currencies, could cause difficulties in the very area they are intended to assist. It also lays open the possibility of charges of educational imperialism if courses are produced short of the exact requirements of the developing country buying in the courses.

In terms of the infrastructure considered necessary for distance education, some observations by local educators illustrate the local view of communication of both the system of teleconference and postal communication. Examples are given:

Using the UWIDITE system, you are forced to make arrangements long in advance. If I want to talk to someone in Cave Hill tomorrow I can't just go down and say I want to use this thing in an hour or so. I have to book it long in advance. (014)

My opinion is that they started the wrong way up. They should have

post and telephone system although it may not be regarded as the role of the university to do things like that. The University, could say we can't deliver efficiently until the telephone and post are made efficient. (Interviewees 017)

The dissatisfaction indicated in the comments of the interviewees corresponds to the comments of Halliwell, (1987) who pointed out that although radio appeared to be an outdated mode of conducting education courses the Jamaica Ministry of Health in cooperation with the World Bank was spending US\$1,000,000.00 researching the effectiveness of radio as a form of distance education. It could be an indication that the Ministry of Health recognises that radio can be effective because of its wide ownership and relatively low cost. The wide ownership of radio also has the possibility of achieving more effective communication than the telephone. At the present time a courier is used as the most efficient postal service both internally and externally by UWIDITE. Providing and expanding distance education across national boundaries means that an efficient and reliable system of communication that does not depend on an individual courier is necessary.

In Chapter Four, page, 125 I quote Budhlall (1991) who points out the need for increasing the effective use of radio communication and education, which underlines the preference for using communication methods that have been reliable and relatively inexpensive, until the more sophisticated means of communication are understood and properly available.

Communication and Interaction Theory

Holmberg's and Baath's theory of Communication and Interaction is highly relevant in explaining the needs of distance teaching in Jamaica. Examples of distance education which supports students in study are difficult to find in the UWIDITE practice but the demands from the students, course facilitators and tutors for a more interactive system of communication and interactive course materials, discussed in Chapter Two, give relevance to this theory in explaining their situation.

In the pilot study, students mentioned the inadequacy of study material that would make the process of studying a more enjoyable and interactive experience. The relationship between student and course content is hindered because of the lack of a suitable range and inadequate supply of study material, and the gap in time that occurs when remedies are sought for difficulties encountered in using and understanding the course material.

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JAMAL, operating at a different educational level from UWIDITE and the Ministry of Education Teacher Up-grading programme, has produced its own teaching materials and has been involved in a substantial amount of face to face teaching when JAMAL was flourishing as a distance teaching organisation. It was an attempt at interaction at the personal level and also at using teaching materials which are about the local situation: civic, historical, political and industrial. There was an absence of course material which related to the needs of the participants in the rural economy, especially on agricultural development and the growing and marketing of products which the government encouraged. As a consequence sections of the rural population could not make an immediate and sustaining connection with JAMAL's intervention, which they played no part in determining. Fordham has argued that:

a precondition of successful intervention is having confidence in the capacity of people to create, to change, to transcend themselves and to transform their own environment. The professionals can create the space where people can talk things out, make assessments, decide on courses of action and structure their own learning without imposition from the professional and without growth of dependence. (Fordham, 1979: 196)

The inability of JAMAL to create the space and conditions in which individuals could meet and discuss their needs and help shape a curriculum that matched their expressed needs could have been one of the reasons why JAMAL's intervention did not connect with the rural adult population. There was no room for interaction between the participants in adult literacy classes or for interaction between the teacher and the student because the curriculum and methods of teaching were determined by JAMAL.

Interviewees, who teach JAMAL classes, see interaction as important for purposes of morale building and the encouragement of the volunteer teachers. Several interviewees indicated the need for interaction in the following comments:

For JAMAL to succeed, for JAMAL to get moving, for us to bring the illiteracy rate down to about 10% in the year 2000, we need a good director, we need good administrators. Sometimes it is not really monetary terms, since people who are doing this on the ground are

already committed. For a social programme like this you must love people. You must be able to deal and interact with them. (Interviewee 025)

The need to have a system that facilitates the interactive process was also essential, from the point of view of the Minister of Education, for all distance education systems in Jamaica.. He said:

You need the infrastructure to make the thing work because it cannot be just a correspondence course. That by itself is a distance mode and I understand that but I think it needs to be more than that. In general terms, but particularly in our terms, our people need the human contact, they need the personal interface. We need the interactive material and the personal contact. (Whiteman, May 1992)

In the Ministry of Education Distance Teaching for Teacher Upgrading, a substantial amount of interaction is possible because of the small numbers involved and because the teachers themselves value interaction in the way the material is presented, and more importantly interaction of a personal nature. They are also mature students who have experiences of the tertiary and higher education processes, are teachers themselves and have more confidence in discussing and articulating their needs as teachers and as students.

Teleconferencing in UWIDITE was seen as a process that facilitates interaction but it has not yet proved an adequate form of interactive communication. The system imposes limits on two way conversation due to the inadequacy of the equipment. Lack of communication and interaction is of concern to teachers and lecturers. The theory of Communication and Interaction has a relationship to distance education in Jamaica, and it explains the needs of staff and students in the distance education environment. The limitation of the present system attracts internal attention and comments in terms of its inability to facilitate interaction.

These inadequacies are explained by many participants in the UWIDITE teaching programmes and show the level of concern and frustration that is encountered and which render the communication and interaction theory important for distance education in Jamaica. As a theory it is important and applicable to education in general, not just to distance education.

Quotations from four interviewees with respect to the low level of interaction and the cumbersome nature of the existing system at UWIDITE give an indication of what individuals within the system feel now.

In this system the moment you all want to talk you get cut off. An additional problem is the person who gets cut off does not know that he or she has been cut off so will continue talking. (Interviewee 017)

Right at the moment the teleconference is central and there is going to be a shift in policy towards more straight correspondence courses. We are interested in the interactive quality of the correspondence courses. (Interviewee 015)

We are certainly low on student support services; consequently the level of interaction is low and we want to improve on that (Interviewee 016).

I see two way communication between the territories as being very important. Before UWIDITE it was a one way thing with radio or extremely expensive travel between islands but even for this project the aim is to find out what everyone everywhere is doing at the same time (Interviewee 024).

The lack of interaction is therefore also related to the course material and the non-interactive nature of the environment within which learning takes place. The suggestion is that it is recognised and needs to be remedied to reduce wastage due to students leaving the courses. Low levels of interaction and inadequate communication are therefore contributory factors to wastage in distance education in Jamaica.

The Communication and Interaction Theory therefore appears to be relevant to distance education and students. Course tutors and managers regard interaction as a major requirement of any education system and put a great deal of emphasis on its necessity for distance education. The personal interaction which is typical of face-to-face teaching methods is more easily recognised because, 'there is a lack of a reading tradition', as one interviewee, [Chapter Five] describes it.

Autonomy and Independence

Wedemeyer, as an exponent of the theory of Autonomy and Independence, seems to be mainly concerned about independent study as meaning study at University level. His ideas are however important in that when looking at distance education it is evident that different distance education organisations cater for different needs and levels of learning. However the higher education students interviewed in the pilot study in Jamaica indicated that they make choices based on what they perceive as their specific needs. Their needs may well be to work in their own space and time for the purposes of avoiding inconveniences to themselves, their

organisations or adverse effects on their personal finances.

In Jamaica the distance education student may be seen as an independent learner but the extent of the observed independence may be influenced by the learning environment of the student. The students' independence may be due to the difficulties they have in obtaining course materials either because they are not available or because the students cannot afford what is available. It is also an independence which may involve struggle with the learning material which was not developed for distance education.

The importance of the theory for this study is that although it appears initially to explain the situation in which the Jamaican distance education students in higher education find themselves, the reality is that there is a significant amount of dependence on the teacher for relevant print materials from various texts which are part of the mainstream university literature and texts and which students, in some cases, cannot afford and cannot borrow.

The theory of autonomy and independence also explains the situations in which students are studying, and in which they have no choice but to work independently because distance education is so organised that only minimum contact is possible.

Wedemeyer does not see autonomy and independence as negative aspects of distance education. The form of autonomy and independence which he proposes is one in which the student has access to the tutor and one in which the learning and study material in combination with access to the tutor is so designed as to enable the student to develop independently. Understanding the material is therefore closely allied to an enjoyable learning experience and as such this theory has similarities to the theory of interaction.

Models of Development: the Process

The kinds of development in distance education that have taken place in Jamaica and those identified in this study are of three distinct types examined in Chapters Two, Four, Five and Six. They are the Ministry of Education Teacher Up-grading Programme, which came to an abrupt end with a change in the political priorities in Jamaica in 1980; the gradual reduction in the role of JAMAL during the same period. The UWIDITE

programme which began after 1980, has not ceased to function but is now consolidated at the level of operation achieved in the first four years of its development. UWIDITE is now in a position to undertake further development in order to expand the educational opportunities available in the Caribbean.

The models that appear to represent these developments are those produced by Fagerland and Shaw that Daniel represents schematically as (i) Classical Cyclical Theories, (ii) Augustinian Christian Theory, (iii) Linear Theory and (iv) Cyclical Linear Theory. The cyclical linear theory is a combination of two earlier theories, the classical cyclical theory and the linear theory.

Two of these theories can be applied to the development of distance education in Jamaica. The classical cyclical theory, which holds that development occurs through recurrent cycles of growth and decay, illustrates the way in which the Ministry of Education Teacher up-grading Programme developed. The Programme was developed gradually but was then brought to an end with the change of political fortunes in Jamaica. The equipment was, after some time, employed elsewhere [see page 105, Creative Production and Training Centre] on educational and training programmes by the government, so in that sense it was not lost to the education service completely. The teacher education programme is now being revived and the knowledge and expertise gained during the first programme can now be of assistance in the development of the latest programme. As such the theory is relevant as an explanation of the development of the Teacher Upgrading Programme.

The cyclical linear theory, which holds that radical change is needed before good can come to the poorer members of a less developed society, provides a framework for understanding the way JAMAL has developed. Positive statements are being made about JAMAL's future at the present time, from the Minister of Education, and from the new appointments, especially of the director who 'shares the vision' of development of the Minister of Education. [see Chapter Six]. With the changes in the political and economic situation JAMAL had been also affected and was being gradually wound down but according one interviewee:

the government [that began the gradual closure of JAMAL] could go only so far and no further because 'the people' made it absolutely clear that they were not prepared to see JAMAL closed and put out of existence, because it had made a significant contribution to literacy in

Jamaica and the process was not yet complete. (Interviewee 004)

The involvement of people, properly organised, can therefore be essential to the survival of an educational programme, although on this occasion it was not possible to prevent a considerable reduction in the services offered. The weak link was the rural communities. When the benefits that people derive from an organisation is, to them, tangible they will be prepared to defend it to the extent that they cannot be ignored by governments. The long term perspective of governments may however succeed if the people's defence is not well organised and sustained. This may have accounted for the substantial reduction in JAMAL's activities.

The intention is to re-develop JAMAL, with some of its original interests and role intact, but at the same time preparing for an expansion in its role as an education organisation, using an element of distance teaching methods. In doing that it will again be involved in areas of developmental and literacy work that it had previously undertaken. The agricultural interests that have assumed major importance in poverty reduction, in the new political situation, will be a significant part of the undertaking.

Duke has advised that application of learning to real life is clearly important if adult education programmes are to affect people in a positive way and hold their interests. It is suggested that:

Bureaucratic segmentation and resistance to inter-departmental cooperation appear to be universal problems of large scale management. So does the problem of linking literacy or skill-acquisition to production possibilities within local cultural, economic and political realities. If centre-periphery, planning-diversity and learning-doing dichotomies cannot be bridged, the prospects for motivation, effective participation and changed behaviour of people and systems resulting in reduction of poverty appear slight (Duke, 1985: 5)

JAMAL expanded rapidly after its establishment, then declined and is now in a position to undertake further development, as the economic and political situation allows. This way of developing represents an example of the 'cyclical linear theory'. The availability of adequate financing, which in the short term will only be available if international financing can be obtained, is crucial to future development.

UWIDITE

In the case of UWIDITE the above theories do not seem to have a direct

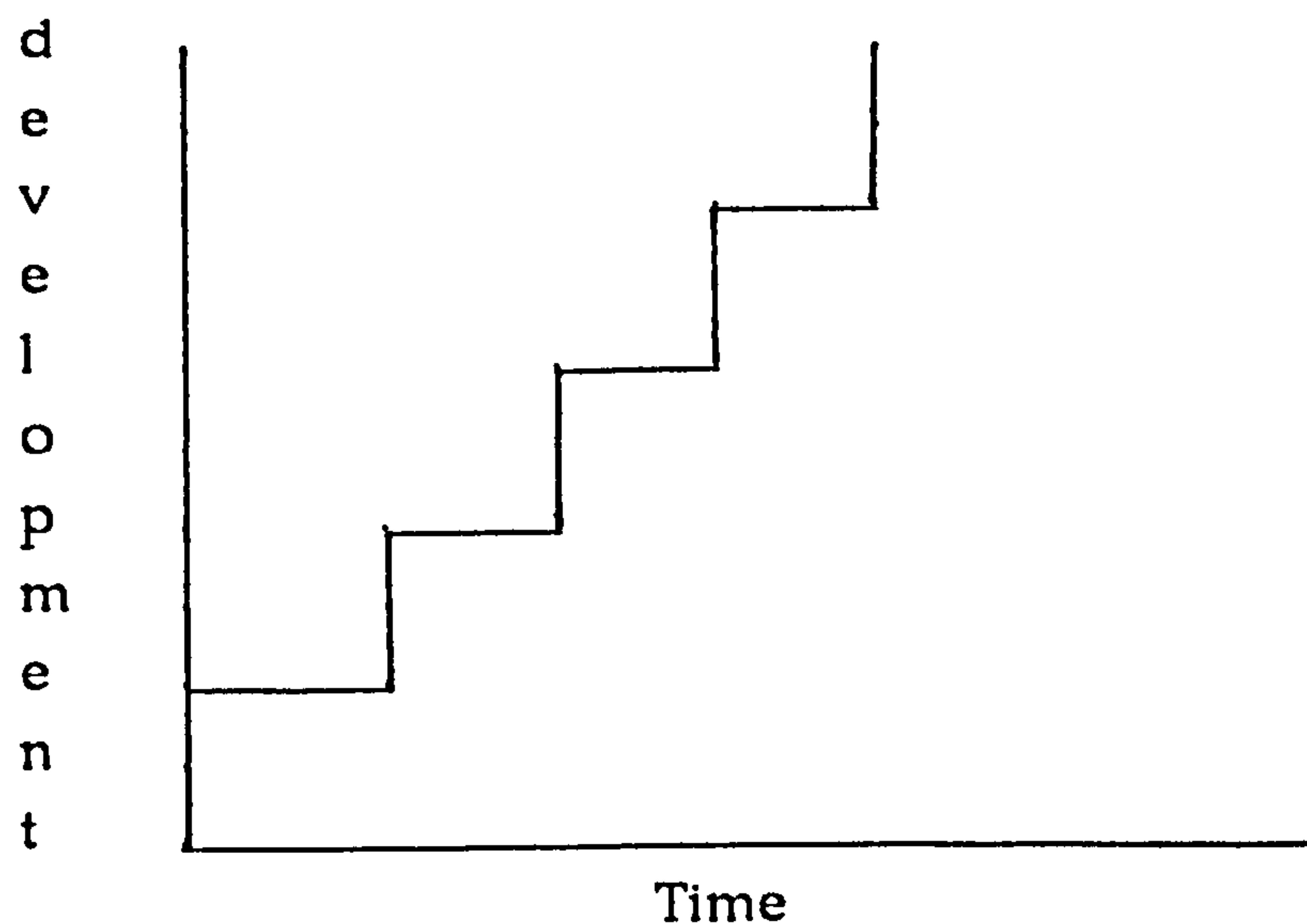
application. The development of UWIDITE began much later than the Teacher Up-grading Programme and JAMAL and has not shown any tendencies to develop according to the models discussed in Chapter Two. Although it has been shown that UWIDITE had its development in earlier beginnings, from the University based Radio Education Unit and the Caribbean Institute for Mass Communication, UWIDITE now functions as the only major active distance education organisation in Jamaica.

UWIDITE developed in conditions of uncertainty about the extent of its life and the kinds of functions it would be required to perform. It was established with financing from USAID as an experiment and without any guarantee that the funding would continue or any knowledge that it would be integrated into the funding mechanism of the University of the West Indies. That came later after its 'successes' in specialist teacher education, first year undergraduate courses, especially in the social sciences and in certificate courses, serving mainly the non-campus countries. This was done with the number of students firmly controlled. UWIDITE does not have a firm base of tutors specifically organised to work in distance education and could not determine or plan its future development in an orderly way. It therefore developed when and how it could, depending on the amount of resources and the popularisation of distance education generally.

Because UWIDITE was established in the mid 1980's it was able to take advantage of the political climate which developed in the following years which favoured educational development and expansion. UWIDITE then developed in stages, as its resources allowed. This was helped by the fact that distance learning at university level is not an option for many students entering higher education. The following, STEP diagram illustrates UWIDITE's development and potential.

UWIDITE's Development.

Fig: 8: 1



A Step Model of development would allow the organisation to grow as and when opportunities allow resources to be spent on extending distance education provision. It also allows for periods of consolidation and reflection during the organisation's existence and periods of growth. A feature of this model is that it allows for periods of time in which pedagogical requirements can be reflected upon and attempts made to match available resources to need. When development takes place it can do so, both qualitatively in terms of improvement of its student support services, curriculum expansion and improvement, and in increasing its student population.

UWIDITE, in as far as its undergraduate student commitments are concerned, was able to control exactly the number of students it has at any one time by catering for first year undergraduates. It could even function with a reduction in the number of undergraduate students without it being seen to be too much of a problem in terms of anyone expressing concern on value for money issues. For some years after its establishment UWIDITE reached a plateau and remained there in terms of the curriculum it offered while the student population vary within the confines of small numbers. (pages 148 - 9). This suggests that in this particular sector distance education can develop in ways other than has been suggested by current development theories.

Distance education in higher education in Jamaica developed, with external assistance. It has remained at a stage where further development can be accomplished with an injection of capital, adequate staffing, an expanded curriculum and new approaches, if assistance is received and used before deterioration of the technological infrastructure takes place.

Advantages of Distance Education.

There are distinct advantages to be gained from the development of distance education in Jamaica. It offers a way of bringing into the educational framework many people who would otherwise be excluded. Thousands of people who were unable to read are now literate. My experience of finding people who were unable to read to the extent of being unable to sign their own names illustrates a problem which could have negative consequences for any country but considerably so for a country with a small population and a large illiterate minority. The enthusiasm and excitement of the small number of successful and newly literate people that I also met shows that individuals can get renewed feelings of confidence in developing themselves.

It has been stated that there is a danger of regression, (Chapter Six) where people lapse into illiteracy, because of the inappropriate nature of some of the literacy programmes, because of the lack of reading materials and possibly because the interests of the newly literate cannot be maintained. It is therefore essential to develop literacy and training programmes with a significant component addressing the problems of the people who are most vulnerable. The rural areas appear to be the most vulnerable with the highest rates of illiteracy, the most inadequate educational facilities, the highest rates of inflation, the lowest rate of productivity and the highest rate of unemployment and poor infrastructure.

Using distance teaching for literacy has had the effect of providing rallying points for young adults who are unemployed in the urban areas who wander aimlessly with nothing to do. It has not been harnessed to change significantly the relationship between areas of poverty and wealth but works to keep the 'lid on' a situation that could become explosive because of the lack of alternatives and the hopelessness in which many of the urban unemployed and illiterates live.

The extent to which distance education catered for the needs of the rural

poor and agricultural development is doubtful. A few of the newly literate did start their own businesses and a number, unspecified, did obtain employment in the tourist industry but there is no evidence that 'functional literacy' as the aim of JAMAL had improved the competence of the rural agricultural workers.

The literature was not geared to the practical needs of the rural people in any significant way but concentrated on areas that could be termed liberation pedagogy and the integration of literacy with skills training. Historical and political themes were factors. Skills taught were related to running a business and knowledge of the tourist industry. Bauxite and ownership were also important, indicating a mixture of pedagogy designed to get the Jamaican illiterates to 'know themselves', to know about the newly developing industries such as tourism and bauxite, which generate a considerable amount of employment and contribute 'important' export earnings, but programmes ignored the real and specific needs of the small farmers who are not recipients of benefits from the tourist industry and whose needs are different from those of the urban illiterates.

Three pamphlets were produced by JAMAL that could be described as important to the agricultural industry and marginally important to the small farmers. These were the subjects: Drainage and Irrigation, Jamaica Needs the Farmer and Let's Plant a Kitchen. In terms of development they did not provide a great deal of help to the rural small farmers who were not attracted to the literacy programme in large numbers. They were not used in rural schools with young people, and did not attempt to show any connection between agricultural production, income and development. Neither were they linked to other development initiatives that constitute the real life experience of the rural population.

Support for Literacy

Support for literacy is listed as coming from the banking, insurance, manufacturing and tourist industry and from friends of JAMAL, but the nearest literacy got to attracting the agricultural sector was in food manufacture and the livestock industry. It may be that the industries from which JAMAL sought and received support were seen as more able to help reduce unemployment and contribute more to the national economy. These were also areas of industry that would be immediately appealing and accessible to the young urban unemployed. There were however not

enough jobs in this sector to absorb those acquiring literacy status so that once functional literacy was achieved the dangers of regression would set in.

Between 1977-78 the number of firms registering as friends of JAMAL was 180 but this number declined to 80 between 1981 and 1982. This was the period of the new government which had begun to withdraw support from literacy and teacher upgrading programmes that were using distance teaching methods. The withdrawal of government support from literacy training was followed by withdrawal of support by industry. The 1980's, therefore, became a period when JAMAL began to experience severe reduction in its function due to the changed political environment. Industry was clearly taking its lead from the government and withdrawing or refusing to renew support for literacy.

Distance education had reached a number of people in the rural towns but in the long term the people reached could not benefit from their education in a material sense. Employment that required literacy skills was not available and people who were cultivating their small farms, selling their farm produce and being generally self employed were not significant participants in the literacy programmes. The students came from the ranks of the young unemployed with only the odd individual, in some parts of the country, being able to show small benefits in terms of the establishment of his or her own business development and self sufficiency. The majority did not possess the required capital to start their own businesses and neither were there economic and social structures to assist those who wished to develop along the lines indicated by the government in the development plans. Coombs and Ahmed had suggested that for there to be benefits from literacy and the generation of new employment there should be:

more equitable access to arable land; more equitable distribution of income; widespread improvement in health, nutrition and housing; greatly broadened opportunities for all individuals to realise their full potential through education; and a strong voice for all rural people in shaping the decisions and actions that affect their lives. (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974: 13)

This range of support needed to assist rural people who were undergoing literacy training was not available. It was simply a case of learning to read without the necessary back-up to generate new employment and maintain interest. Time is very important and the young adults had no models of development based on agriculture that they could follow, although

examples exist internationally. The government and organisations of the state did not provide models of development based on agriculture where people are successful. What is being observed is that the agricultural worker or small farmer works very hard, takes professional and scientific advice, applies it to agricultural production and remains poor. This amounts to reproduction of a structure based on dependent underdevelopment, without the conditions that Coombs and Ahmed have listed as necessary, with rural decline as the consequence.

Functional Literacy

The term functional literacy was taken from the description given at the Tehran conference in 1965, quoted by Young as:

a way of preparing man */sic/* for a social, civic and economic role that goes far beyond the limits of rudimentary literacy training, consisting merely of the teaching of reading and writing. The very process of learning to read and write should be made an opportunity for acquiring information that can immediately be used to improve living standards; reading and writing should lead not only to elementary general knowledge but to training for work, increased productivity, a greater participation in civil life and a better understanding of the surrounding world. (Young, 1980: 81-2)

This understanding of functional literacy is wide ranging and requires commitment over and above that which governments in developing countries are willing or are able to deliver. It represents a comprehensive range of skills that, if acquired, could well have the effect of causing the displacement of many governments in developing as well as developed countries.

The failure of the integration of learning related to work as well as civic knowledge illustrates why there was no significant response from the rural population involved in agriculture. It justifies Callaway's declaration that:

Literacy is inseparable from participation which is at once its purpose and its condition. The illiterate should not be the object but the subject of the process whereby he */sic/* becomes literate. (Callaway, 1978: 174)

In that sense the literacy programme was dysfunctional for the rural population. It did not relate to the needs of the rural population (mainly people who work on the land) and they were not attracted to the established literacy schemes. Reduction in unemployment did not materialise because the policies and practices in literacy did not offer possibilities of capital

injection or any form of restructuring with job creation possibilities. In the agricultural sector in Jamaica links were not established between increased agricultural output and marketing opportunities which could offer rural young people the possibility of useful and rewarding occupations.

Other factors such as the government's policy of encouraging rural people to stay in the rural areas and not migrate to the towns would have been assisted through rural education support. It has been argued in Chapter Six that one reason for the rejection of agricultural work by many people, and the drift from the land to the urban areas, is the association with menial and slave work and because the return to labour is regarded as inadequate. The inability to make available a model of development based on agriculture has helped to make the task of persuading people to stay on the land even more difficult.

If education and adequate reward for the agricultural worker, compares favourably with the worker in commerce or manufacturing, a powerful force could be set in motion for agricultural based workers to want to stay on the land and could even lead to those who have already drifted away from it, returning. According to Kazim Bacchus' argument:

unless there is a massive structural transformation in the reward system ... non-formal education will never be accepted by the general populace and will remain no more than a peripheral activity in the field of education. (cited in Fordham, 1980: 7).

Education for literacy, in as far as it affects the rural people, should be linked to adequate reward. There are already actual examples of men from the Jamaican rural communities working as contract agricultural workers in North America where the rewards for agricultural work are seen as worthwhile in comparison with Jamaican wages and conditions. The visible picture, in Jamaican rural communities, is one in which ordinary 'uneducated' people are seen to work hard but remain poor in contrast to the agricultural worker returning to Jamaica from North America.

Environment for the Function of Distance Education

The environments in which distance education functions in Jamaica encompass a variety of conditions and can be grouped under two broad headings. These are:

1. Funding
2. The national political situation.

Funding

Funding for much of Jamaica's distance education development and expansion was externally determined at the initial stages. This is the case in the three distance education organisations studied, with less emphasis on JAMAL which received considerable support from UNESCO. For future development however JAMAL is seeking external funding and in the words of one of their officials, '*the situation is extremely difficult because of the conditions placed on how funding is used*'. Miller has already established that when education programmes are chosen, set up and managed by the local people involved in the institutions, '*the results can be impressive and the savings considerable*'. (Miller, 1991).

The conditions attached to funding are arrived at, not due to the paternalist nature of the funding agencies, but to the political character of the environment from which the funding agencies come and in which they operate. Having established how savings are made both in terms of money and time, the point is then reached for a massive transfer of responsibility for supervision of projects to the recipient of aid after agreement on what projects will be funded and the amount of funding available.

The original funding for UWIDITE was obtained from external sources and was responsible for the kind of technology that was put in place. The funding was available for a limited period and when it was used up the University was able to incorporate UWIDITE into its total expenditure with, it is stated, government assistance. However when external funding ends the influence of the original donor remains in the form of the system that was set up when funding was first provided. Where that occurs it is important to have periodic evaluation of the system in order to determine what function it fulfils.

Whether or not the technology and the established system is appropriate for distance education in that particular institution is a question that needs reviewing at regular intervals in order to determine whether the influence of the original donor coincides with the requirements of the institution and those it serves.

Rogers suggests that:

if the planner is brought into the system after thousands of dollars have been invested ... the potential for achieving economy may be lost for many years. In this situation the most efficient way to proceed

might be to forgo revamping of the system. (Rogers, 1971: 54)

The way UWIDITE developed was influenced by the needs of the donor although national responses to correspondence courses had indicated that there may be a small domestic market. UWIDITE has not grown significantly since its establishment but has managed to sustain a distance education service after its initial development. This was possible, without too many problems, because of the original way it was established. Lalor and Marrett (1986) made the point that the money for UWIDITE came from USAID who indicated that funds were available for this purpose. This is how the teleconferencing distance education facility came to be established in Jamaica. In addition the control of UWIDITE's development through undergraduate student numbers was easy since successful students moved on to join mainstream students in the second and subsequent years of study.

Lalor and Marrett (1986) state that the money received for the establishment of UWIDITE was surplus to the requirement of the donor and therefore the decision to place that particular aid at the disposal of higher education was a specific decision by USAID about what country or countries should receive the assistance and a joint decision between USAID and the receiving authority about how the aid would be used. It could be regarded as an example of how decisions regarding bi-lateral assistance can have a positive effect in extending educational opportunities.

UWIDITE continues, with funding by the University of the West Indies, encouraged by the governments of the Caribbean who were materially very supportive of distance education because of the possibilities they understood it offered them for educating their populations. Co-operation between such a large number of states, who are sovereign and independent, has a political and economic dimension but mainly it shows the extent to which West Indian leaders and people find that co-operation is necessary in order to raise educational standards in the region.

The Ministry of Education Teacher Up-grading Programme was also partly funded by USAID in the original stages of its development. Their assistance provided the appropriate technology and helped with training of personnel. Its establishment was therefore partly dependent on external assistance. Because the whole organisation was established and functioning against a regional governmental background supportive of education, it was kept in operation even in conditions of financial austerity.

Political Issues.

Whatever the financial background of a country, priorities are politically determined and it is in the last analysis the main reason for deciding whether or not a project survives. The exceptions may be where projects are self or externally financing. Whatever the state of the Jamaican economy, the decision to close, start up or re-start any nation building project, such as an education project, is a political decision. As a part of any government's social policy it may be impossible to avoid taking decisions without political consideration being a major factor influencing the decision. As Faure points out:

Education, being a sub system of society, necessarily reflects the main features of that society. (Faure, 1972: 60)

In the view of several interviewees (014, 015, 019, 026) and indirectly one politician who argued that the political parties operate like opposing military camps (page 162 - 3) the decision to close the Education Broadcasting Service and consequently the Teacher Upgrading Programme, seems to be a political one. The reason given for closing the programme, re-distributing the equipment and bringing about tighter political control, was that it was used not only for teacher education but also for politicising school children (page 104). That of course pre-supposes that teachers are incapable of making their own decisions and that whatever they learn they would regurgitate to children without any questioning. It is not that governments are averse to the politicising of school children, the aversion comes about when it is not their ideas that are being inculcated.

The closing of the programme for this reason also pre-supposes an authoritarian government in which only one view, that of the State, was allowed. This has never been the case in Jamaica although the banning of some literature from the United States of America occurred during the late 1960's when the Jamaica Labour Party was in power. It could be argued that the banning of literature because of its political content, contributes to indoctrination by its effect on the type of political books that are then available. What is therefore played out is the extent to which political parties fear people's abilities to make up their own minds based on written information and whose interests will benefit or be jeopardised in the process.

One immediate question is the extent to which the Jamaica Labour Party

and the People's National Party wanted the Jamaican people to be exposed to a free flow of ideas, especially radical ideas advocating change, self respect, and the need to develop and maintain themselves as dignified semi-autonomous individuals through access to literature and written information. However, further limits, in addition to the banning of literature, were achieved by taking no action to relieve the high level of illiteracy that still existed at the time the Jamaica Labour Party took power. People who were unable to read were not in a position to benefit from ideas obtained through reading and were more receptive to the opinions of those 'leaders' who were prepared to find simple solutions to complex problems within Jamaica.

The JLP wanted to limit the basis from which ideas became available to the population as a whole. This was done by banning the importation of the literature and supposedly the ideas contained in the banned literature. The unbanning of the importation of this literature was carried out by the People's National Party soon after its success in the 1972 general election followed by a literacy campaign that was intended to make Jamaica a fully literate society by the year 2000.

Stone conducted a survey on attitudes to the banning of radical black power literature which showed a clear relationship between literacy levels and the response to the ban on this type literature. He argued that the more schooling one had the greater the awareness of the issues and the more likely the feeling that the ban should be lifted. More generally he showed a relationship between attitude and awareness. Stone argued that:

freedom of expression through the written word is a fundamental issue in a democratic system. (Stone, 1974 :83).

The kind of democracy was not specified but it is reasonable to assume that as he was commenting on the situation in Jamaica, he was referring to Western type democracies. However it is not only in democracies that are Western in orientation that these rights are regarded as fundamental. Many of the ex-socialist countries considered literacy to be important and adopted distance teaching methods to improve the state of literacy and training of their people once they had the power to do so. In Cuba, which is a Caribbean country, literacy of the adult population was a high priority and was connected to restructuring of the economy.

However in the case of Jamaica a massive increase in the levels of literacy

would be necessary to increase awareness of the issue of banning certain types of books and also increase the percentage of people wanting a removal of the ban on radical black power literature.

Stone also conducted a survey to show the relationship between education and attitude to birth control, in which he found that the more literate people in Jamaica were, the more positive their attitudes towards the use of birth control, for limiting population growth, and as one way of assisting in the raising of living standards. He also showed that literate people were more positively responsive to the television and radio education and information on birth control.

It may have been that governments in Jamaica have long regarded the ability to read as a powerful tool in the hands of individual citizens, and wanted to have control of this kind of development. It is one thing to be able to tell people what to do and have them do it, but indeed another to have them decide what to do on the basis of information that they have independently acquired through literature and to which they have formulated independent responses.

When people take action on the basis of independent information, there is a process of rationalisation which produces action independent of the source of information and such actions are qualitatively different from actions taken as a result of receiving and carrying out an instruction. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the demagoguery which characterises political parties in Jamaica is an enemy of rational behaviour and could therefore have a vested interest in maintaining limits on literacy.

Ending the teacher education programme had the effect of reducing the ability of the education system to continue to provide the high quality of teachers that were required. Reducing JAMAL to a skeleton of its former self also had the effect of reducing the number of literate people in the country who could get information independently. It had a demoralising effect on full-time and volunteer teachers who were 'high spirited' about their work and contributions in bringing about 'positive' changes.

One of our interviewees involved in distance education pointed to the benefits that could be gained from contact between countries in the region especially for young people. Attendance at a day conference was given as an example:

We had a day conference on the break up of Russia, what is happening and what are the implications for the Caribbean and Latin America, Cuba. There in the background, Jamaica is largely supported by Cuba with technical assistance. So the teleconferences are making available basic information on topics that may come up on their paper in examination. It gives them a chance to interact with experts and with young people across the Caribbean and to share ideas as young people. (Interviewee 014)

If shared ideas and open educative discussions are ingredients of co-operation and collaboration, then this needs to be encouraged, especially when future adults are involved, and is part of the process of Caribbean unity, promoted since pre-independence times.

Between the political parties, in Jamaica, there is little difference in the style of politicising the population. As Stone (1974) noted, both political parties are caught in their own contradiction of how to develop in a free society with free access to information at the same time as they maintain political dominance over the sections of the population from which they get support. One political party appears to limit access to information by keeping a tight rein on the extent of literacy and the other, while wanting to extend literacy, seems to do so in a way that gives it considerable control of peoples' behaviour and political responses.

The level of literacy achieved through the literacy programme, described as functional, appeared to be at a very low level and did not correspond to the needs of the people who were being brought into literacy. Consequently they could easily drift back into illiteracy. It is a condition that Lankshear describes as 'improper literacy' because:

it is seen as having much more to do with its use inside political structures that are palpably sensitive to the interests of the user than with the inherent character of literacy itself. (Lankshear, 1987: 32)

Thus the kinds of experiences to which illiterate individuals are exposed in the process of becoming literate, subordinate them to particular ideology and leave them continually under control of class interests and political structures. The PNP can then maintain its dominance over the newly literate because their literacy is *improper* i.e. they are not literate enough to break away from structures through understanding gained independently. One political party concentrates on maintaining its hegemonic position through the maintenance of ignorance while the other seeks to enhance its

position through limited education.

Both political parties therefore use populist means of mobilising the population, which means that substance of policy or possible policy differences are ignored because they do not exist on the major issues of economic development and ownership. The use of populist means of mobilising people is particularly noticeable in the rural areas of Jamaica where large sections of Jamaica's poor and illiterate people live and where, according to a World Bank Report:

small farmers are the largest occupational group among the poor needing a successful anti-poverty strategy to raise their earnings and those of their children, which some individuals will be able to do while remaining in farming, with probably the majority moving into some other rural economic activity or gaining access to the urban labour market. (World Bank Report, 1994: iv)

Education and the Rural People

It has been noted that relevant education needs to be offered to illiterate people if they are to be attracted to the education programmes offered and to continue to maintain an interest, keep themselves literate and advance on basic literacy. Lowe's advice is that:

whatever the level of the learning situation the starting point is to ascertain the motivation, needs, interests and competence of the learners, to define the learning objectives accordingly and to select suitable methods and techniques. (Lowe, 1975: 109)

The learning situation for most adults in rural Jamaica is their environment and the starting point must therefore be to use their own location and experience which is part of that environment. The learning location where people can meet needs to be attractively prepared. Participants should be encouraged to determine their own agenda for learning with their experiences as contributory factors to the learning process. With the necessary guidance, as a prerequisite, they are then the main determinants of what they learn, how their learning is organised and of the more immediate use to which any new knowledge and skills are directed.

The selection of suitable methods and techniques for every group of learners may involve high cost and the collection of a considerable amount

of information, a situation that developing countries can hardly afford because of the shortage of resources, but one which requires consideration and research to determine the way in which the task can be tackled effectively.

Developing countries have a history of large classes in schools and at some literacy institutions in the urban areas, where individuals of differing abilities, needs and levels of attainment are grouped together for learning. This, although not necessarily creating a block on learning among school age children in the formal sector, may be of limited interest to adult learners in the non-formal sector, including distance education, who wish to put their knowledge to immediate use for the improvement of their own conditions.

Again as Lowe points out:

it is easy to tender advice that each individual and each group should be treated as unique and that a set of methods tailored to his or her unique needs should be devised. It is equally easy to recommend that in every teaching/learning situation no single method is likely to be appropriate for the entire experience but that different stages and aspects require different treatment. (Lowe, 1975; 110).

One of the issues common to large sections of the population and requiring attention is that of poverty in the rural areas, where it is intense and where according to the World Bank:

poverty reduction will require special attention and more spending of certain types such as public programmes to provide support for smallholder agriculture which focuses on research and technology transfer programmes. (World Bank Report, 1994: ix)

However the World Bank Report, while noting the importance of public programmes, also calls for their restriction and the promotion of private investment and market forces as ways out of poverty. If the government wishes to use market forces in its development plans then it needs to create the conditions which facilitate the operation of market forces. These facilities would need to be provided through a combination of legislation and public expenditure.

The World Bank Report suggests more spending on certain public programmes and at the same time praises their reduction in others. There appears to be a contradiction but it may be that the World Bank Report

intends public expenditure as a starter to be followed by massive inputs of private investment, in the long term making public investment a progressively smaller percentage of total investment. If that is the case it needs to be spelt out clearly and sources of private investment should either be identified or suggested since control of the amount and type of private investment is not in the hands of governments.

Development can occur without corresponding reduction in unemployment, with increase in individual poverty, or with both. The aims of development therefore need to be clarified so that what is being aimed at can be measured. Hettne points out that:

No development strategy explicitly aims for inegalitarian development but conventional strategies implicitly assume some inequality (social or regional) as a necessary price for growth. In contrast egalitarian strategies give a higher priority to redistribution than to growth. One example is the Basic Needs Approach (BNA). In the early 1970's it was widely agreed that economic growth did not necessarily eliminate poverty. Rather the economic growth that actually took place in most developing countries went together with an increase in absolute poverty. In response to this the BNA favoured a direct approach i.e. a straight relationship between development strategy and the elimination of poverty rather than waiting for trickle down effects of growth. (Hettne 1990: 165)

With the loan agencies such as the World Bank favouring development through private investment, it is essential that the Jamaican government not only sets growth targets in their development plans, but also sets targets for the reduction in employment and poverty levels expected from development, regardless of the development strategies it chooses. These are straightforward political decisions that have to be faced by developing countries whose development objectives do not stop at an increase in gross domestic product.

The Research Questions

In all countries, education is a political issue, and in developing countries the issues are sharpened by the lack of resources and because choices have to be made, always, between education and other forms of social spending. The limits imposed on adult literacy by the People's National Party and the lack of support for it from the Jamaica Labour Party suggests an awareness that an educated population can contribute to development but can also be seen as a threat to existing order at the same time as it is seen as a means of

opening up the possibility for further development.

What is often cited by governments, education ministers, and educators in developing countries is that there is a link between education and development. Using the 'developed' countries, they provide adequate examples, that one common element among them is the fact that they have an educated population citing the most 'prosperous' countries as the best twentieth century examples.

This has resulted in major parts of national budgets being spent on education but without the expected development occurring. However the questions about why the desired development has not occurred, has not affected high levels of educational spending in many developing countries.

In the more extreme cases cuts in government spending during periods of economic hardship can affect education drastically as in the case of Jamaica. In some African countries education organisations had to be closed because of economic problems. In Jamaica a mixture of political and economic conditions was responsible but the sharpness of the situation was brought about by world economic conditions, political rivalry and competition being fed through to practical education situations affecting the established distance education projects more severely than formal education. When this happens, benefits to the most deserving cases are restricted.

In spite of this, however, distance education has a future even in the political context Jamaica offers because it is an additional way of providing education and training at different levels of the education system, where there are shortages of qualified people willing to take on the role of educators and where resources are scarce. In this way it can be an effective supplement to the traditional modes of education.

This is a feature of distance education that has been recognised in developing countries world-wide, but the rate at which progress is made will continue to depend on how political formations learn to manage and organise the practical effects of their differences within national boundaries. On educational questions, moderation of differences has been in existence before, during and since the break-up of the West Indian Federation and practised across national boundaries with the University of the West Indies maintaining, with the support of national governments, its original objectives and educational co-operation among the region's governments.

Overcoming Dependence

The consciousness of the political leaders and their relationship to the issues of poverty and deprivation need reassessment and redefining so that specific remedial action can be applied to bring about specific outcomes. The types of poverty that sections of Jamaican society are experiencing are not stated clearly or even vaguely. The 1994 World Bank Report has noted that in Jamaica whilst there is poverty, no one is underfed or deprived of food. The kinds of help that people need are varied but centrally the help should be directed towards people helping themselves. This could be assisted by education for self sufficiency, using distance teaching methods. Provision of adequate infrastructure and better organisation of the market could help people to take advantage of those facilities to raise their standard of living and assist the development process.

However there appears to be a feeling that politicians have a vested interest in promoting and maintaining dependence. In the words of one interviewee with an interest in rural development:

if you keep telling people they are deprived and incapable they will be incapable and deprived. It gives the politicians a chance to come to a place and say look what I have done for you and this is what I will do for you next time. So people are always waiting on the politician. (Interviewee 017)

The maintenance of the above situation creates a dependent mind to the extent that politicians in Jamaica and some developing countries can use external economic assistance and the maintenance of 'good relationships' with some countries, for the specific purpose of obtaining aid, as a vote winning exercise to be used at election times.

Thomas sees the situation as one which has been built up to the point where it determines the character and consciousness of the Caribbean people and one from which escape is extremely difficult. Thomas says that :

The pervasiveness of the view of the limited capacity of our people to master their environment is largely due to the society's internalisation of Euro/ American views of itself. As we come to see ourselves only as others see us so we have moved further from our freedom.(Thomas, C. 1974: 305)

The lack of Caribbean models of development and wealth creation supporting an emphasis on agriculture and anchored in the Caribbean

suggests that policies are needed which link agricultural development and literacy. The statement by the Minister of Education that in future the focus cannot be limited to literacy but must be linked to some form of training, hopefully recognises the need to make links with wealth creating activities and possibly to move away from any emphasis on agriculture, since by its very nature, training can be for a range of industries.

Although the point has been made that what the developed countries have in common is that their people are predominantly literate, this comparison omits other factors. These factors are that they have concentrated on their human resources and have developed those resources to the point where there is a high productivity of labour based in a variety of industries including agriculture. The implication for development and development strategies is that human resource development is the key to moving developing countries out of the state of under-development. That development is brought about by people and that money and wealth is the result of development is an important concept in the management of human resources for development.

Many countries having an abundance of natural resources have remained poor because their human resources are underdeveloped. The development of human resources is skills based, allied to literacy and numeracy. The skills that enable development to take place are not based in agriculture alone but in the production of manufactured goods. Where skills are allied to agriculture this has a tendency to displace labour. Land is a factor that is constant, except for marginal increases from reclamation, and significant increases in the productivity of labour have a tendency to come from the introduction of machinery which reduces the need for labour on the land.

The lack of alignment of literacy, skills training and stated objectives has meant that developments occurring in the past twenty five years cannot be measured according to any stated objectives and cannot therefore be attributed to literacy. Small numbers of individuals may have made connections and benefited from acquiring literacy skills but the extent of their contribution cannot be verified, since contacts between post literate individuals and training agencies are not maintained in Jamaica.

The view that literacy assists development is neither proved nor disproved. What appears to be the situation in the case of Jamaica is that literacy needs to be managed with planned objectives and needs to be allied to training,

relevant to the needs of the trainees and the economy. Benefits from literacy alone have not surfaced as a dynamic factor in the development of Jamaica.

What needs to be pursued with strength and determination is the relationship between literacy and relevant skills training to find out how they can be developed, maintained, and what must be done to keep those influences active and how they can be organised to develop an economic culture which recognises the accumulation of capital as an important factor in development. Establishing these relationships will enhance the effectiveness of distance education when it is put to use for development purposes.

Implications.

The stakeholders and providers of Distance Education may wish to consider the implications of this study which I suggest are as follows:

1. That political agreement be sought on minimum support for distance education at university level whichever political party is in government.
2. That the University of the West Indies Distance Teaching Experiment give priority to the development of student support services.
3. That UWIDITE be opened up for more than standard University courses and establish direct links with communities in Jamaica promoting reading and the use of written materials.
4. That UWIDITE's own teacher education programme join forces with the Ministry of Education Teacher Upgrading Programme.
- 5 That JAMAL's work be de-centralised and that small communities be given responsibility for some in-put into the organisation and content of education which includes literacy.
6. That experimental and research facilities be established where the benefits of literacy can be monitored, evaluated and disseminated.
7. That the effectiveness of distance education for literacy be enhanced by the reduction of the rate of illiteracy from the schools and enforcement of school attendance.
8. That appropriate models of rural development, using agriculture as a basis, be examined before it is accepted as the basis for development.

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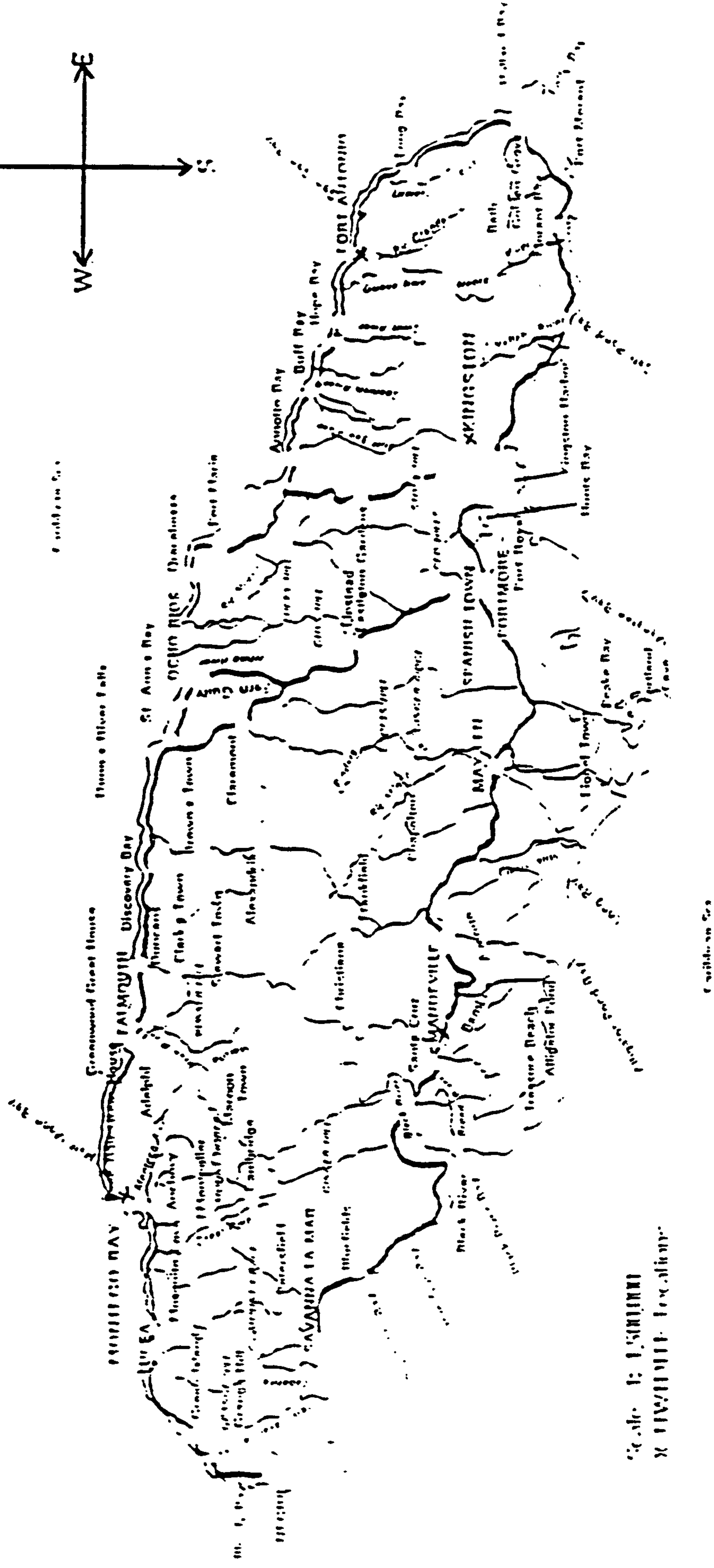
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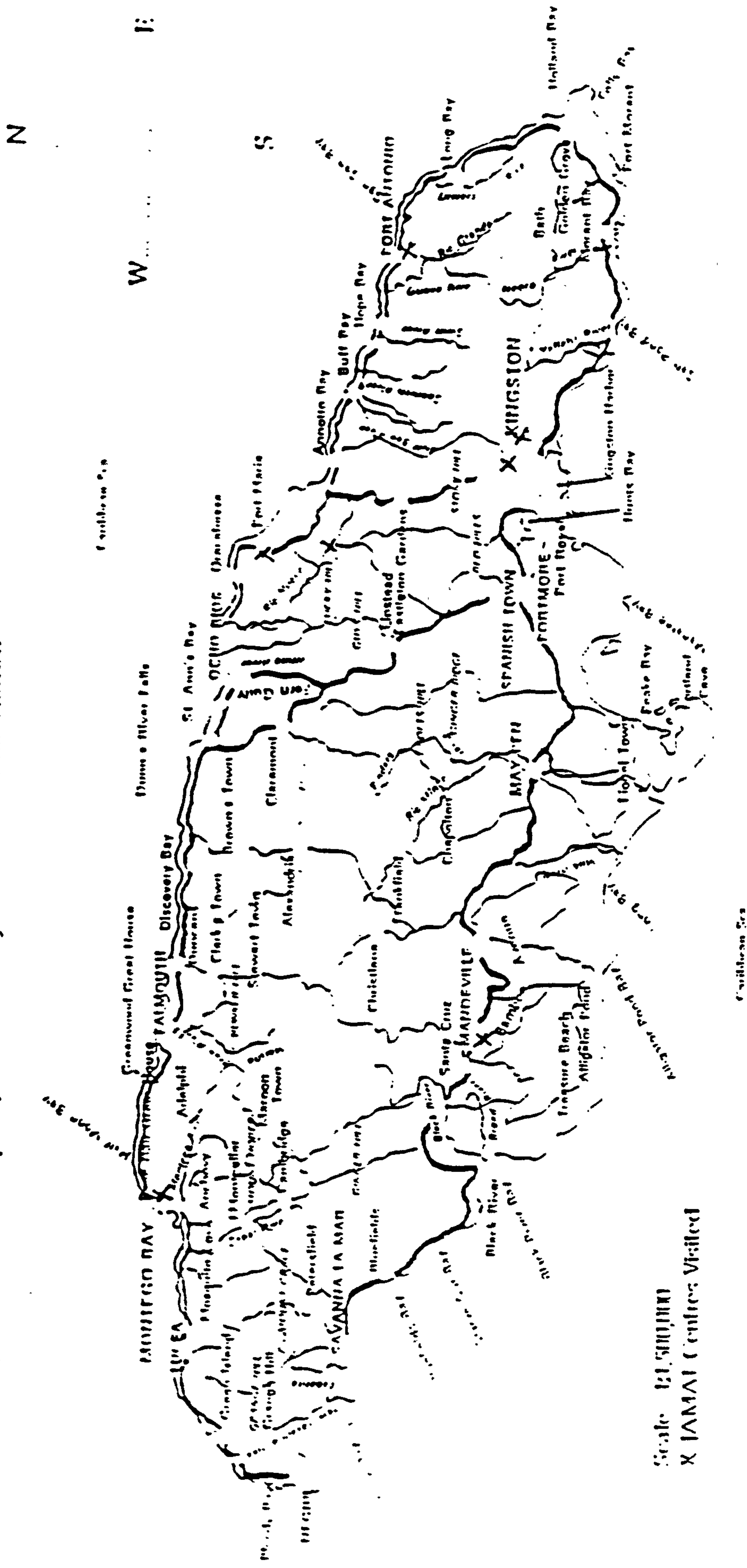
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Appendix A 1 Map of Jamaica with (WIND) locations



Appendix: A II. Map of Jamaica with JAMA1.Stations Visited



Appendix B Typical Letter sent to interviewees

4 Regent Street,
New Basford,
Nottingham,
England. NG7 7BJ.
12th June 1992.

Dear ,

I am writing to thank you for allowing me such a long and comprehensive interview on Distance Education in Jamaica at such short notice.

I am indeed most grateful for all the kindness and patience shown to me and look forward to seeing you when I am again in Jamaica. Although I cannot be sure of the precise date I hope it will be sometime in 1993 or early 1994.

Once again thanks and all the best.

Yours sincerely,

Richard Skyers.

Appendix C Research Timetable

Year	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Month	OND	JFMAMJJASOND	JFMAMJJASOND	JFMAMJJASOND	JFMAMJJASOND

R search course and discussion	-----				
Backgroud literature and pilot instrument	-----				
Pilot interviews	-----				
Analysis and literature survey	-----				
Main study interviews	-----				
Transcribing and analysis of interviews	-----				
First draft	-----				
Second draft	-----				
Third draft	-----				

Month	OND	JFMAMJJASOND	JFMAMJJASOND	JFMAMJJASOND
Year	1990	1991	1992	1993
				1994

Exploratory Interviews.

Appendix D

Interview Guide and Prompt Sheet.

Name:

Age:

Connection with Distance Education:

Connection with development issues:

Occupation:

Status:

Education:

1. We have agreed to discuss distance education and its contribution to development in Jamaica. To what extent would you say that Distance Education has assisted Jamaica's development in the last ten years? Can you provide examples from health, (eg. infant mortality, life expectancy) teacher education, (eg. the effects in the primary and secondary schools of updating teacher education) teacher supply, (eg. effectively dealing with teacher shortages) reducing illiteracy and the rate of growth of illiteracy?.

2. Could we discuss the health question? One indicator of whether a society is developing or not is the number of infants that die and the age expectancy of its population. Would you find this statement agreeable? yes?no.

(i) if no how would you see it?.

(ii) if yes could you link any of these developments to the work of JAMAL and/or UWIDITE?. Elaborate: I am thinking mainly of the UWIDITE programme for updating medical education and the way this has been applied to your knowledge and also the JAMAL education on good eating habits. The radio programmes exhorting people to eat certain kinds of food is also relevant in the sense of why and where this exhortation comes from.

(iii) have illnesses been reduced, in adults and children, because of change in eating habits or change in practices for which distance education is responsible or has played a part?.

(iv) Can you quantify it?.

(v) Other.

3. To what extent has the updating programmes facilitated the coming together of professionals who share common problems?.

(i). can you give examples?

(ii). do you feel this has lessened isolation of professionals?.

(iii). has any significant reduction in emigration occurred?.

4. Tell me about teacher education here in Jamaica. As I understand it there is a shortage due mainly to people leaving the profession. But to what extent is it possible to provide qualified teachers through distance education?.

5. One of the things that UWIDITE is proud of is its record on updating teacher education. Can this record be quantified in any way?. Elaborate: The number of courses and the number of teachers annually both numerically and as a percentage of the teacher population.
6. What kind of courses are available and what courses are desirable?
 - (i) Do the teachers tell you what they want and you then design a course to suit their requirements?
 - (ii) Do you tell them what is on offer and they then choose from the offerings?
 - (iii) Are there negotiated element in the courses teachers follow?
7. What would you list as UWIDITE's major contribution to the development of this country since its establishment in 1984?. The development can be about people individually, collectively or their contribution to economic and/or social development.
8. Could we talk about literacy?. One statement that is being made all the time is that literacy assists development.
 - (i) Can you identify any particular area of life that has changed for the better for any one person as a result of becoming literate?
 - (ii) for a group of people who have become literate?
9. What would you say has been the Major achievements of JAMAL since its operation began in 1974.
10. To what extent are you aware of any increase or decrease in literacy in the population over the last few years.
11. How can this be accounted for?.
12. Other developments that have links with distance education.

Appendix E

Distance Education and Development in Jamaica: A exploratory study of the Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy (JAMAL) and the University of the West Indies Distance Teaching Experiment (UWIDITIE).

Preparation for the exploratory research began in December, 1990 when I started to write to the Jamaica High Commission, people in the Caribbean who work in education generally, and particularly in Distance Education. I was fortunate in obtaining a list of names of the participants in a non-formal International Education Conference that took place the previous July in Jamaica. There was a good Caribbean representation at that conference and a number of the people to whom I wrote were participants. Well over 95% of the people I wrote to responded positively and quickly. Most of the responses were so encouraging that I was able to enter into a period of correspondence for a few weeks before I actually left for Jamaica in April, 1991. The effect was that I overcame some of my initial nervousness and was therefore able to relate to people in a relaxed way almost from the start. It was a feeling that continued during the whole period of my stay and after. I felt I formed many good and supportive relationships which I hope will continue, in spite of my inability to communicate with all the people to whom I should have written by now.

The purpose of my visit in April was to familiarize myself with two distance education systems, Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy, (JAMAL) and the University of the West Indies Distance Teaching Experiment, (UWIDITE) and to learn the extent to which they contributed to the nation's (Jamaica's) development through literacy programmes, in the case of JAMAL and through professional and undergraduate studies in the case of UWIDITE and collectively through distance education. JAMAL was established in 1974 with the task of eradicating illiteracy within the shortest possible time, when it was discovered that 50% of the adult population of Jamaica was 'functionally' illiterate. UWIDITE was established in 1983. UWIDITE's intention was to help fill the gap in the demand for professional skills and the availability of those skills in the Caribbean region. Although its centres were located in the campus countries, Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad, it had a Caribbean wide brief some of which still remain unfulfilled.

In addition to writing letters I read a substantial amount of the literature on distance education, particularly where that literature indicate that distance education was intended to assist National Development. Where the question of National Development is raised, invariably means 3rd World countries. so there was a tendency to look for the literature on distance education in the third world.

This led me to the work of a variety of people on Distance Education and Development such as: Daniel (1990), Ager (1990), Calder, J. (1989), Goldvien and Naidu (1989), Miller (1989), Jenkins (1989), Neil (1981), Duke (1987), Fordham (1990), Lalor and Marett (1986), Bynoe (1989). Some of the literature were critical of distance as a way forward for third world development, some were explanatory and supportive, others who thought the claims were exaggerated and yet others who thought that criticisms were justified but in some cases were too harsh given the difficult situation in which third world

countries found themselves economically and socially and with inadequate infrastructure.

I felt it was also necessary for me to develop some understanding of typologies of distance education in order that, if necessary, I could recognise or describe the basis of Jamaica's distance education systems. In this connection, though not only in this connection the work of, Peters, (Nov. 1989) Rumble, G. (1986), Keegan, D. (1986), became important. This understanding was particularly important for me in the case of JAMAL. The use of radio and television has declined at JAMAL due to severe reduction in their income and consequent restriction in their work. Television and radio is now used a great deal more for advertising and fund raising than for instruction. However my request for an explanation of how JAMAL was a distance education organisation got the response: "if the use of radio and television is included in any definition of distance education then we are a distance education organisation".

My arrival in Jamaica was a pleasant experience, I was met and provided with comfortable accommodation which lasted for the duration of my stay. I was also fortunate in having my first interview arranged for me, not at the time I expected, a day after I arrived, but two days after I arrived. My host thought I would need the extra day to recover from the ravages of my journey.

Methods

The approach I adopted for this exploratory work was eclectic. I used long interviews, of between eighty and ninety minutes, participant observation and very short interviews lasting no more than fifteen or twenty minutes. The short interviews took place because interviews for lengthy periods could not be sustained with JAMAL students due to communication problems and unsatisfactory conditions in which to conduct the interviews. I was unaware of this situation until I was actually at one of the JAMAL classes. Other interviews lasted in excess of one hour in most cases. Participant observation was a way of getting involved and passing on some of my 'knowledge' to young adults who were interested in acquiring a working knowledge of metrication. I arrived in Jamaica at a time when metrication was being introduced and being a Jamaican from England who 'know all about it' I was asked to give the benefit of my knowledge. A 'challenge' to which I delighted to accept but perhaps mainly to show off my teaching skills.

The eclectic nature of my approach was because I felt that my reading and knowledge of available methodologies was inadequate for the conduct of this study. Up to this point my reading, although extensive, concentrated mainly on the literature relating to Distance Education and Development. With what I now regard as inadequate preparation the approach adopted was the only one I felt I could take that would contribute to my understanding of the policies and practices in education and to my understanding of whether development is assisted in any way by the education taking place.

It was not until I completed the exploratory work that I began to take seriously the question of methodology and the possibilities that this provided in resolving some of the problems encountered during this phase of exploration.

I began to scabble around for methodologies and was to some extent influenced by the work of ethnographers such as: Barker (1951), Becker (1961),

Gladwin (1976), and Illuminative Evaluation of, Partlett and Hamilton (1977). Vulliamy, G., Lewin, K., and Stephens, D., (1990) also provided valuable reading on doing research in underdeveloped countries especially with their focus on "Qualitative Research".

On reflection the short interviews were not a necessary part of the exercise. They could have been done through the use of questionnaires as a quicker way of collecting the same information and potentially more useful. This of course assumes that the interviewees have reached a sufficiently high standard of literacy to be able to complete a questionnaire. The situation in the JAMAL classroom appeared chaotic through overcrowding and the noise sometimes made it impossible to hear clearly what the interviewee was saying. It is reasonable to assume that the interviewee also found it difficult to hear the interviewer especially because I spoke with an accent that is not wholly Jamaican.

Separately from distance education and development the question of *development* did present a problem in that this concept covers a wide range of questions. *Development* implies growth and growth in terms of knowledge, service or product and has quantitative aspects as well as qualitative aspects. according to Good, (1966) using growth in vocabulary as an example of development having both quantitative and qualitative aspects. Politicians, economists and others tend to use development in connection with growth in production and services so it was becoming a concern that there needed to be a limiting element on the area of development that was discussed and that this would have to be connected to distance education in order for the research to be possible.

The Interview Questions

The interview questions were derived from the literature I had become acquainted with and were designed, so I believed, to find out whether literacy and undergraduate students had set themselves any specific development goal or whether they were just taking up opportunities that presented themselves without targeting anything in particular. The interview questions directed at teachers and administrators were intended to gain information as to whether there were specific development goals and whether the courses and literature that were produced were designed to achieve these goals.

As it turned out and with hindsight, the designing of the questionnaires and interview documents to get particular types of information were in need of a great deal of improvement and possibly radical alteration. Fortunately they were never followed rigidly. I believe that the flexible approach adopted in the use of the interview documents enabled me to gain information about attitudes to and involvement in education that could not be gained without this flexibility given the inadequacy of the interview questions.

Interviews

The first interview took place at UWIDITE and from there a network was established that took me into other areas such as social science and education. In a similar way the first interview at JAMAL established a network that helped with the arrangements for visits and interviews in other parts of the country. The interview with teachers in UWIDITE showed a recurring

concern in relation to democracy within the organisation. This was expressed as a concern about the need to meet and to plan. The statement was: "we do not really have distance education planning meetings with other departments or within departments. We don't meet to plan things and I don't know why that is". From the UWIDITE students points of view there was also a recurring theme related to communication but which which also had some relationship to internal democracy within the organisation. That theme was related to breakdown in communication and the number of hours wasted as a result. A few examples were given of "attendance at classes that were cancelled but which were never communicated to the students" although, according to the students, it was possible for them to be told about breakdowns and cancellations before they undertake their journeys. Since many students travel to the UWIDITE building from appreciable distances it causes a good deal of frustration to have spent money and time to attend a class that is not taking place. Improving communication problems at UWIDITE will it seems continue to cause some difficulty and so will questions of democracy due to the fact that all of the academic staff work on a part-time basis and are therefore not always available or accessible to the administrative staff or to each other at times considered crucial.

UWIDITE students are privileged people, in the Jamaican context. They have all been through the formal education system up to University matriculation otherwise they would not be able to study through UWIDITE. It is a closed system since it excludes people who do not have formal qualifications. In the word of Lalor and Marrett (1986: 140) "the biggest gap perhaps is that distance teaching is not even beginning to meet the needs below tertiary level. UWIDITE cannot be responsible for these needs but its success may encourage others to attempt programmes at other levels". It is made clear that UWIDITE's purpose is not to cater for people below the educational level at which it now operates, such levels to be validated by certificates, while at the same time suggesting that there may be others who are encouraged by its success.

At JAMAL the concern about democracy was expressed in terms of the appreciation, or lack of it, of constructive criticisms especially from new comers. It was expressed as: "they may first think that you are knocking the programme, that kind of thing, therefore one should wait until one is with the programme long enough and until one knows a bit more." It may appear that this may make it difficult to bring new ideas into the organisation but there does not seem to be a difference between the way new comers see their relationship to JAMAL and new comers in any other organisation.

Throughout the interviews, with JAMAL teachers, constructive views were expressed about the education system and the low level of resourcing. The point being made was that for illiteracy to be effectively combated more resources need to be put in the formal sector because that is where the illiterates originate. It was stated that: "classes were overcrowded, sometimes sixty pupils to one class confined in a very small space with inadequate resources". By inadequate resources was meant an inadequate supply of books, shabby and uncomfortable buildings, the maintenance of a shift system of education where half the pupils go to school for half a day in the morning and the other half go in the afternoon because of overcrowding and teacher shortage. Many trained teachers are unwilling to work in the existing conditions. The concern was expressed in the form of a question and then answered. "How can anyone be expected to teach sixty children all at once

and in these conditions?. Until education is properly resourced we will continue to have illiteracy and the problem will probably increase."? The connection between an effective formal education system was clearly established in the minds of a significant number of JAMAL staff and some of the volunteer teachers. A recent survey has shown that illiteracy is again on the increase and that it is the young people leaving school that are illiterate particularly the young males.

Higher education does not appear to be directly affected at the moment but there appears to be a crisis in the secondary sector. Competition for University places still exist but concern is being expressed at the reduction in competition at University level for the available places and at the quality of those recruited as students.

Interviews with literacy students were short and twenty students were interviewed. Most of the interviews were done in Kingston because here the gender distribution was approaching equality in number with slightly more female than male students. In the rural location of Highgate there was only one male in a class of twenty students. As I have stated previously, a questionnaire may have been more efficient and a larger sample could have been achieved.

Observation

Observation underlined the understanding that I developed, that there is a powerful influence from the church on literacy programme. How strong was not investigated partly because time was not available and partly because at the time it did not seem necessary to do so. My prime interest being Distance Education and Development even if the questionnaire did not help in producing that information. Some of the most active literacy centres were attached to churches and the non-conformist churches seem to play a dominant role. Prayers were said at the opening of every meeting and all students and teachers appear to participate.

A chance remark that I did not believe in God led to a question from one of the young literacy student. "Then tell me sir, who do you worship then". My reply that I did not worship anyone seem to have left as much amazement as my chance remark. The remark and question took place outside of the immediate education environment.

The degree of interaction between students and teachers was high. Pedagogy and response to personal social questions were dealt with simultaneously. The movement of students was quite fluid in the sense that they seem able to enter and leave lessons if they wished. Here again there was an underlining of the relationship expressed by one teacher during an interview that, "the students and teacher have a close relationship that sometimes parents feel they can call upon the teachers to help in the solution of problems". Some of the adults are young enough to be living at home.

During my periods of observation I was aware of only one applicant for a place being turned away. Applicants for places are interviewed carefully mainly to discover their motives for coming on the course but also because there is overcrowding. I was given a careful explanation as to why this particular applicant was refused. Not all students are well behaved and in this particular case the admissions person knew that there was link between the applicant and a student who was already causing some concern.

In some areas the education establishment is also a centre for socialising and meeting ones friends. Therefore during periods when there are classes it is possible to find a significant number of people outside just waiting for friends or chatting to one another sometimes making the stairs difficult to negotiate. It does not appear to be a cause for concern although it is not encouraged.

Examining the Data

My approach to examining the data I had collected was as eclectic as my approach to collecting it. However it seemed an appropriate way to proceed since it bore some resemblance to the way the data was collected. On my return to Nottingham I set about transcribing the bulk of data, (a small amount was done in Jamaica), most of which was on tape. In the process of transcribing I felt that a few patterns were occurring. The patterns relate to reasons for wanting to learn to read, views on the nature of the organisations, and questions of democracy.

A common thread running through the overwhelming number of interviews with male students was the desire to become a preacher.

The table below illustrates the replies to the question:

What does learning to read mean for you?

	male	female	total
can read the bible	3	5	8
become a minister	7	0	7
enjoy myself	1	2	3
write letters& read	1	1	2
total	12	8	20

The writing of letters refer to business letters and letters to friends and families overseas. One female interviewee combined reading the bible with being able to read recipes and improve on the range of dishes she can provide. She is included with bible readers because her answer suggested that was her first priority. One male was interested in reading to help him improve the productivity of his land. The fact that seven males wanted to become a minister also indicated that they wanted to read the bible making the overwhelming function of the males present the need to read the bible.

The relationship with the church was not pursued but Miller (1986: 67) provides some examples of the role of the church in post emancipation education especially the non-conformist churches. He says: "historically the church has always played a part in education in the Caribbean. In Jamaica the non-conformist denominations, the Baptists and the Moravians had always supported the emancipation of slaves and the rights of blacks in a free society. After the establishment of Crown Colony government they (the church) joined their allies the Crown in providing elementary education of some quality. They assisted a few black men to rise to professional status and firmly established elementary schooling as the norm". Here then Miller's view is partly explaining the church's influence and probably an explanation as to why a preponderance of males in literacy classes see themselves as pursuing preaching as a vocation. It is an argument that helps to explain the existence of so many churches some of which are little more than shacks as others

before them were but have now grown into big solid buildings with significant numbers of religious adherents.

Discussion

The response from the interviews with JAMAL students did not provide any information about development related to distance education. It provided information about the influence of the church on peoples daily lives, unless one is prepared to argue that setting up a church of one's own or greater participation in an already established church constitutes development. In the circumstances it appears that the questionnaire needed to be re-written or the approach altered.

There is also an indication that some individuals are motivated to learn to read because they have ideas on certain course of activity they would like to pursue. It may be running their businesses more efficiently and expanding it or improving the productivity of their land. It seems that the desire to learn to read is connected with the development of something. In many cases this involves older students. The involvement of older students is an important observation in relation to the allocation of scarce resources. Why this is so among older students should then become an important question for understanding how development is seen and how contributions are made.

What did emerge however in discussions with academics and through observation was that there are many churches in Jamaica, and being able to read provide an escape route from poverty for many people without formal educational qualification. The escape is not guaranteed but the attempt at escaping is not costly in terms of capital outlay and therefore involves an insignificant amount of risk if any at all.

Some of the students and JAMAL teachers to whom I spoke thought that they were learning to read and teaching adults to read because they wanted to contribute to national development. Others were fulfilling their roles as citizens, helping their less fortunate 'brothers' and 'sisters' because what they did improved their self esteem. "It mek me feel good".

As I previously stated, only one of the JAMAL teachers in the locations I visited is male. Consequently the teachers interviewed are all women except for this one man.

All the teachers were aware of their best moment. It was when an illiterate student was able to read his first sentence and everyone, including the student knew that it makes sense. That was seen as a contribution to individual development. JAMAL teachers were not sure of the national implications except that it seems to them to be a good thing for everyone to be able to read and write which would make communication easier.

Where learning difficulties occurred there was no professional way of dealing with it. One student had been attending classes for five years, I presume on and off, but was unable to read properly. However an education psychology service was not available to assist in diagnosing what if anything might be the problem. In the meantime he will continue to come to classes and hope. Any frustration is his own and teachers will continue to teach him as long as he continues to attend classes.

Officers employed at JAMAL on a full-time basis expressed a general awareness of the development potential of their work. They believed that it was better to be able to read because it makes the people easier to train and open their eyes to the potential around them. The evidence for this is not

easy to locate because as it was explained to me; "people who became 'literate' through literacy and JAMAL classes are sometimes reluctant to identify themselves as ex-JAMAL students for fear of any stigma".

UWIDITE defines its function as one of helping to bridge the skills gap in the Caribbean, professional updating and reducing the isolation of professionals in the region. In this way it is hoped that the 'brain drain will be reduced'. Data on the extent to which the 'brain drain has been stemmed was not sought but recent events suggest that at the level of nursing the drain has accelerated. Teacher education appears to have benefited and certain areas of medical training. Undergraduates on first year degree courses have increased therefore more people are having the benefit of a University education. On the basis that the UWIDITE had set out to be selective in the group it targets for education and training it is has achieved something but it is questionable whether it is increasing opportunities for those who were denied it. Medical training may have improved and medical professionals may have benefited but the extent to which the health of the people has improved was not investigated.

On a personal level I would say that the benefits of careful preparation cannot be over-emphasised. I felt I could have achieved more from the study than I actually did if my time was organised differently in terms of who to see and what else to look for. However I felt the journey and experience were useful. It helped me to rearrange my focus on how and where development may be occurring helped by distance education. I also developed a greater appreciation of the value of documentary evidence and its relevance to development issues and education. In addition, I will, in a return visit be meeting and discussing with people I have met previously. I will be better informed with a much improved understanding of the task that lie ahead. Information gathered that one did not seek is not necessarily useless especially if it helps to point one in the 'right' direction.

Appendix F: Interview Guidelines.

Part one: Introduction

Tutors

I should like to talk with you about your involvement with Distance Education in the form of a semi structured interview.

Personal

1. First, may I ask you about yourself?.
2. Age
3. Are you married.
4. What is your occupation
5. Educational background.

Type and extent of involvement

6. How did you first get involved in UWIDITE?/JAMAL?/Teacher Education?.
7. How long have you been involved?.
8. What work have you undertaken for UWIDITE?/JAMAL?/ Teacher Education.
9. How much of your time is given to this work?.
10. What kind of UWIDITE/JAMAL /Teacher Upgrading? work are you involved in at the moment?.
11. What was the ideological background that underpinned the establishment of UWIDITE?/JAMAL/ Teacher Upgrading

Role of Distance education

12. What is your view of Distance Education?
13. What is your view of UWIDITE/JAMAL?/Teacher Upgrading project as a Distance Teaching Organisation?.
14. What are the special benefits of Distance Education from UWIDITE? /JAMAL?/ Teacher Upgrading
15. How much did you know about its work when you first became involved?.

Problems in Distance education

16. What do you see as problems/obstacles for UWIDITE?/JAMAL? /Teacher Upgrading
17. What problems do you have as a distance education tutor ?.
18. Are there special problems with health education?
19. Are there special problems with teacher education?.
20. Have you ideas about improvements that could be implemented in the near future that would make UWIDITE /JAMAL /Teacher Upgrading more effective as an organisation.
21. Are there ways in which you could be assisted to work more effectively?.
22. Have there been direct support from Jamaican governments for UWIDITE?/JAMAL /Teacher Upgrading?

Effects on Students

23. How in your opinion have UWIDITE /JAMAL/ Teacher Upgrading projects affected the careers and lives of students taking their courses?.
24. Any success stories?.
25. Any disasters?.
26. What do you think are UWIDITE's/ JAMAL's/ Teacher Upgrading project most effective methods in enabling students to complete their courses successfully?.
27. Are you aware of any problems students have in making good use of UWIDITE /JAMAL ?Teacher Upgrading facilities?.
28. Can you think of solutions to any of these problems?.
- (a) teaching methods?.

- (b) use of language?
- (c) physical accessibility?
- (d) contact with tutors?
- (e) regional co-ordination?
- (f) other

Long term effects

- 29. In your view what effects have UWIDITE/JAMAL/Teacher Upgrading projects had on public health?
- 30. What are the effects on infant mortality?
- 31. What are the effects on life expectancy?
- 32. What do you see as the success areas of UWIDITE/JAMAL/Teacher Upgrading?
- 33. Any research materials on this?

Future Developments

- 34. How would you like to see UWIDITE/JAMAL/Teacher Upgrading develop in the next 5 years?
- 35. How would you like to see UWIDITE/JAMAL/Teacher Upgrading develop in the next ten years?
- 36. How would you like to see your involvement in UWIDITE/JAMAL/Teacher Upgrading to develop?
- 37. Are there any other important things related to the UWIDITE/JAMAL/Teacher Upgrading programme which would be helpful for me to know?

Appendix G: Summary Profile of Main Study Interviewees

	Age	Status	Organisation
001	60+	1Ed. Officer	JAMAL
002	40	Ed Officer	Min of Rd
003	60+	Consultant	Min. of Ed
004	60+	Academic	UWI
005	47	Politician	Parliament
006	50+	Politician	Parliament
007	26+	Student	UWI
008	45+	Parish Officer	JAMAL
009	62	Administrator	UWI
010	40	Parish Officer	JAMAL
011	48+	Ed. Officer	Min. of Ed.
012	45	Manager	Min. of Ed
013	60+	Academic	UWI
014	55+	Administrator	JAMAL
015	35	Manager	Min of Ed.
016	60+	Academic	UWI
017	40	Teacher	JAMAL
018	44	Academic	UWI
019	60+	Academic	UWI
020	60+	Administrator	UWI
021	60	Area Officer	JAMAL
022	43	Teacher	JAMAL
023	40	Academic	UWI
024	60	Parish Officer	JAMAL
025	45	Academic	UWI
026	55	Ed Officer	Min of Ed
027	60	Academic	UWI
028	45	Area Officer	JAMAL
029	60	P. O.	JAMAL
030	42	Academic	UWI

In this summary the interviewees have been grouped in three places. Each placing is determined by the organisation to which the interviewee is attached or with which he or she is closest. For example UWIDITE, the Radio Education Unit and the Caribbean Child development Centre are grouped with the University of the West Indies because all the interviewees involved are employees of the University.

Appendix H: Selected Interviews

Interviews.

017 My opinion is that they started the wrong way up they should have started with low technology, for example radio, post and telephone. That would have helped to force attention on the inadequacy of the post and telephone system.

018 Br.

Very often Jamaican students on the telephone line don't get through, so there is that kind of frustration. It is improving but sometimes it is exacerbated by electrical failure.

You never know how many students you have. Nobody can ever give you a complete list of who you are teaching to because when you say UWIDITE it's a misnomer. There are lots of others, there is Challenge, there is this there is that, and there are lots of different programmes that I know about and the UWIDITE office may operate strictly in terms of a certain category called UWIDITE. That is not the category using UWIDITE, so you have people from all and sundry coming into the process but you only have information at any one time on a small sub sector so this is particularly problematic when you have a course work section of the examination.

The students have to send their essays from all parts of the Caribbean and sometimes you get materials from other parts of the Caribbean before you get it in Jamaica.

014

413 Governments are going to have to look at distance methods as a way of re-orienting - re-training its already qualified teachers. I would like to see UWIDITE work a little closer with the Ministry of Education, to reach into the high schools. I don't think we are doing that right now because it is not policy to do that yet.

015

360 Right at the moment the teleconference is central and there is going to be a shift in policy towards more straight correspondence courses. We are interested in the interactive quality of the correspondence courses.

712 We have courses where the failure rate is immense but we have recognised it and we are trying to deal with it.

745 When part-time students come on the campus most of the offices are locked, some departments make accommodation and open for half an hour later than normal closing time.

025/

88 To build up the momentum in JAMAL to what it was in the 70s we need 1/2 hour of television per week in the first instance. But we need to use radio more because more people use radio and have access to radio rather than to television.

021

Now this pre-supposes however that you have the infrastructure to make the thing work because it cannot be just a correspondence course that by itself is a distance mode and I understand that but I think it needs to be more than that in general terms. Our terms our people need the human contact they need the personal interface. We need the interactive material and the personal.

80 So from time to time there is going to be a need to see a tutor to talk, with the tutor to exchange ideas even among themselves because I think that we ought to be encouraging learning together, learning from each other, the sharing of the experiences, not a one to one between you and the instructor alone but one with the group - yes - you must have interaction there must be some provision for the periodic contact, I think between members of the group and the instructor. That is what we are trying to build.

019

The Radio Education Unit (REU) which used to be a part of extra-mural department which we now call the School of Continuing Education and the Caribbean Institute of Mass Communication (CARIMAC) which is part of the Faculty of Arts and General Studies and UWIDITE, these are the three entities that make up the communication infrastructure on this Campus.

013

I had the opportunity to try it out. Distance education seems to be an important thing. It was obvious. Vaguely I knew about D. E. elsewhere. One advantage is that it brings education to a large number of people.

Techniques of marking are being developed at UWIDITE. The printed material when developed to be used with UWIDITE should be sold on the campus.

There are plans to increase Outreach which includes passing on research information. Outreach depends on who is talking.

We are not teaching the public as it were. Everybody think UWIDITE is god's blessing to the Caribbean. Our biggest problem is interaction between teachers and students.

Its acceptance was clear from after 2 years. Writing course material is not a problem technically. We put together a package of getting money for expansion in the next few years, I hope they don't mess it up.

Funding and Politics

017

The University was restructured in 1991 and 3 campuses became independent and funded by the campus governments to make the capital (plant and money) more responsive to the needs of the campuses countries. The governments of course always owe the University masses of money and I suspect that in the case of unsympathetic governments the response is that you fellows are not doing enough work.

They (the University) have this grand conception of what needs to be done, but no idea of what is going on, on the ground. You have to relate things to what is good politically rather than what is good for the students.

017

Now we are getting a new super computer. We are not getting it because we need it to cater for the needs of the University but because there is a six million dollar US line of credit on offer to the Jamaica government. The government offer it to the University and offer to underwrite the loan. The people in natural sciences do not want it and they turn up in force to oppose it saying it had no relationship to what they want.

Prestige project, such as that super computer and the nuclear centre and UWIDITE arise out of the availability of funds from external sources; so people set up the thing and then they look round for a reason for having it. I have known few developments that have been well funded that have come out of demands internally.

288. We were doing a USAID project and the people who came out suggest how we could continue further when the satellite was dying and he came up with the idea of teleconferencing and that's how UWIDITE was born.

021

Now it is early days and you probably know this, we are getting some help in this particular project from the Commonwealth of Learning of which the University is an important supporter. So I am not certain, my permanent secretary probably know a little better how the cost is likely to work out as between putting the people into college for a year and so on. But I know that the start up of any distance education programme is a costly business and it is if you can replicate those programmes over time that you can begin to reduce the cost that it becomes cost effective.

118 I am not sure how you cost the time that you take a person away from base, the cost of a less experience person doing the work of an experienced person or a teacher coming in to replace that teacher and so on. These are also hidden cost that are difficult to quantify.

548 COL aside? Foreign currency Strain? : Yes it has the University is a classic case, lab equipment and so on soon become almost impossible when the (J\$) dollar depreciates as much as it has done recently. It is levelling off now but it has made a serious difference to our ability to deliver. But yes it is recognised and this is why the government has tried this year in spite of the very tight budget we are operating on to protect education and develop as much as possible. Inflation is at 100% between last year and this year so we will be able to buy 1/2 as much as we were able to buy last year.

012

We raise funds. As a committee we are accountable to the board of directors of JAMAL so we make recommendations. We discuss at our level and there is a time when chairmen of parishes meet with board of directors and then we put forward our recommendations. They are discussed and then we come back at one of our committee meetings and we discuss but we don't make the final decision.

Political

016

Many of us have cottoned on to the idea of maintaining the regional integrity of the University. Very strong remember. In the 1960's we talked about the University of Jamaica. Well Trinidad picked up the cudgel.

Since 1970 the underlying ideology has been to maintain the regional integrity of the University. The non-campus countries are critical in this. Although they don't give much money they have a tremendous moral authority. Jamaica has 2.5 million people and you can't write all that off. We had a three million dollar loan from the IDB and the three campus territories had to guarantee it so we bear a tremendous burden ourselves as campus countries.

We have to raise money and believe me, its an interesting irony because I was in the original committee and we recommend a certain set up and professor Lalor was on the committee which actually did the technical costing. What we understood by that was that you will have this but it will be in a network fashion.

010

461 One of the problems is that governments are elected periodically with a mandate to do certain things but continues to be side-tracked by interest groups and as a result they keep on being dismissed at the polls. It puts the democratic process in danger.

019

School broadcasting which was done very well has been dropped because of party political antagonism. As the political directorate changes the emphasis changes also.

727 One way in which the antagonism could be viewed is in terms of explanations and language used, for example, which posits racism without apology- arguments are not couched in racist terms. An exposure of the undertones is regarded as political and from that antagonisms can be generated.

Teacher Education

That is a vital area that we have to be involved in. Our teachers are half educated and we are sending out half educated children. I have the feeling that education could fill that gap. The teachers I had didn't have degrees.

010

My evidence is that primary schools improves the quality of education if you have well qualified and well motivated teachers in them. The quality of the building is not the most essential element. Structural adjustment has adversely affected the efficiency of primary education. It has also affected the home - the ability of both home and school to sustain effective learning.

025

A massive programme was launched under Manley's government to get people to learn to read. It bore a lot of fruit, you had a lot of older people in

those days who couldn't read and write so you had a large number of people turning out to learn to read and write.

95 When the programme was scaled down in the 80's we had a staff cut from 700 and odd to 117 so you know we still try and in 1990 we had the individual champion here in St Thomas and we were runner up in the national championship. When I took over 4 years ago we started at a low of 8 persons to a high of 50 people now. That is something when you look at the constraints.

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The current government is the most supportive. Don't forget the government under Manley was the one who saw the need and got back to the advisers and the JAMAL programme was launched. Had the government not changed in 1980 we would not have this high rate of illiteracy now. Under the JLP administration the staff was scaled down from 730 to 117 in about eight years from 1984 to 1991.

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As political people they need to do a study of what is needed and work out the finance for it and tell the people what needs to be done. Sometimes they are constricted but the organisation(JAMAL) should have some kind of autonomy to deal with the people not the party.

When we got independence I remember Rex and others were called together to discuss education. What we want to do and where we want to go. I see a role for the University bringing all of us together and discussing what could be done and where we are going. In fact the University has a vested interest because they have to be running courses on the use of English because they get so many students who can't speak standard English.